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A Racing Community: A Sociological Investigation into the Social Organization of a Thoroughbred Horse Racing Track

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A RACING COMMUNITY:
A SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE SOCIAL
ORGANIZATION OF A THOROUGHBRED HORSE RACING TRACK

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Sociology
and the
Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies
University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Gale E. Miller
August, 1973

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Accepted for the faculty of the College of Graduate Studies
of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Chairman

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to

Floyd Campbell
and
Robert McCullough

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A quick glance at the references made in this account should be an indication of the extent to which I have depended on others in this endeavor. One group that must be publicly recognized are the writers whose works I have drawn from for comparative material and sociological insight. Indeed, many of them have been more than sources for this work; rather, they have been, and continue to be, significant figures in my total development as a student of sociology. Specifically, this group includes Robert Redfield, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim and Charles K. Warriner.

On a more personal level, I would like to recognize and thank the chairman of my thesis committee, Dr. Wayne Wheeler. Dr. Wheeler has alternately encouraged and scolded me into the completion of this task. At the same time, he has judiciously refrained from interfering to the extent that the thesis might become his product rather than mine. For his encouragements, scoldings and restraint, I thank him.

Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Mark Rousseau and Dr. Robert Simpson for listening to my ideas and complaints during the data gathering and writing stages of the thesis. My debt is augmented by the fact that neither was in any official way connected with the thesis.

I should also mention the two men to whom this account is dedicated, Floyd Campbell and Robert McCullough. Floyd Campbell, my grandfather,

first taught me the importance, beauty and complexity of life with others. Robert McCullough, my high school social studies teacher, first showed me the power and force of human thought. To my mind, these were the first "true" teachers that I encountered in my early years, and, in many ways, this account is a reflection of their influences on me.

Certainly my greatest debt is to my wife, Diane, who has given more than anyone else to the completion of this project. She has been a wife, friend, breadwinner and personal secretary to me in the interest of my education.

Lastly, I should mention the contributions of Carl Jonas and Terry Brown. Although I have spelled YA-WET-AG differently from Jonas, the idea for giving the race track this name is derived from his many novels about Gateway City. The two figures that appear in chapter two were drawn by Terry Brown.

It is somewhat traditional and expected that the author of a thesis should end his acknowledgments with a statement granting those to whom he is indebted all of the strengths of the work and accepting all of the weaknesses as his own. At least in this case, such a statement is unpersuasive. The people who have contributed to my education and this thesis have been too centrally involved to dismiss them in such a manner. Rather I would suggest that we should all share in the judgment of the account. Hopefully, they will not be embarrassed by such an association.

Gale E. Miller

August, 1973

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PREFACE

Research Design and Setting

The present study took place during the spring and summer of 1971 at a thoroughbred horse racing track in a Midwestern city. The racing meet lasted for nine weeks, from late April to early July. Although I have drawn from other sources which are not directly connected to this particular racing meet, the bulk of the information included in this account comes directly from my experiences as a participant observer at this particular racing meet. For purposes of clarity I have named this track YA-WET-AG.

The research technique used in this study is participant observation. Basically, there are three reasons for its use. First, participant observation is the research technique that I know best and feel most comfortable using. It could be claimed, I suppose, that the technique was selected merely for personal convenience. Certainly, personal preference was important in my selection of the participant observation technique, but there were other reasons for its use, as well.

A second reason for the selection of the participant observation technique is connected with the circumstances surrounding the selection of YA-WET-AG track as an object of sociological study. I did not finally decide upon the racing meet until about a week before it was scheduled to begin. At such a late date it

was not feasible to develop a valid and reliable quantitative instrument for the study.

Thirdly, and most importantly, it was, and still is, my feeling that the participant observation technique is the best available way of studying social organization like that surrounding the horse-racing business. Most horsemen are suspicious of those who do not make their livings with their hands. I am convinced that any attempt by a "bookman" to initiate a study with a questionnaire or some other such instrument would have been met with suspicion by the horsemen. The results of such an attempt would have surely been a sample of a few, nonrepresentative horsemen.

I had initially hoped to obtain a job at the track which could be used to justify my daily presence at YA-WET-AG. This was impossible, so I spent the spring and summer roaming about the track with no affiliation to any group or point of view. As it turned out, the role of "hanger-on" was well established and to my advantage. I found that there is a sizeable group of persons that spend time at the race track with no justification for their presence other than a love of horses and horse racing. Initially, at least, I was defined as a part of this group.

Another advantageous aspect of being a "hanger-on" was the high degree of mobility it allowed me. I was free to move about the track and the surrounding area with little difficulty. In large part, my freedom to move about stemmed from the fact that I was not a threat to any of the horsemen. I had no economic or

other strong social ties to any group at the track; consequently, I was trusted where others were treated with suspicion. In fact, I found my position as a "hanger-on" to be of sufficient advantage that I turned down all of the job offers that I later received.

Previous to the initiation of the study I spent a large amount of time pondering the proper role of an observer in such a setting. I found my previous efforts to be a waste of time and of little consequence once I entered the social situation. The horsemen tended to define me in similar ways and I simply accepted their definition of me, attempting to play the part as consistently as possible. I was defined as a college student, a junior, majoring in business. The role of college student was invented by the horsemen. In fact, it was the horsemen who defined me as a junior. The selection of business as my major field of study was my invention.

Early in the study I had observed that the horsemen place a heavy emphasis on the accumulation of money as an important aspect of life. At the same time, they shared a common core of values emphasizing the worthwhileness of animals, the out-of-doors and the rural life. Therefore, I told the horsemen that I wanted to major in veterinary medicine, but changed my major to business because it seemed to be a surer way of making a good income. This justification was acceptable to everyone who asked about my college plans.

It is my feeling that the distinction between veterinary medicine and business was important. The veterinary medicine

major indicated that I enjoyed the rural life and animals. The shift to a business major was acceptable, because it indicated that I had rationally decided in favor of money over the country life.

It may appear to some readers that the following account and findings are a bit presumptuous due to the short time I spent collecting data. Certainly, this is not a definitive study of horse racing or race track organization, but that was not my purpose. My purpose was to attempt to develop general and theoretical propositions about social organization based on my findings at the race track. I am convinced that it is not necessary to spend a lengthy amount of time with a group to do this, because the researcher is not seeking to know totally the people who make up the organization. Instead, the researcher is concerned with the interrelations among the participants and the social structures of the organization. This serves to limit the nature of the study and the time needed to complete it.

At the same time, there is nothing inherently divine about the study or the findings. All are subject to future test and verification. Indeed, the rejection of this study, based on empirical evidence, may be of more use to sociologists interested in social organization, than the support of it.

Organization of the Thesis

There are essentially five distinct parts to this account. The first part is the introduction in which I attempt to make explicit the underlying theoretical and methodological issues re-

lated to the study. My central concern is to distinguish between the issues related to logical-deductive theory and inductive-grounded theory. In this way I hope to point out the significant criteria on which the account should be judged.

The second part of the thesis is organized along the lines discussed by Redfield (1967). Specifically I was concerned with the physical, social and social psychological features of horse racing. This discussion includes chapters two through four.

The third part includes chapters five through eight which deal with money and transiency as separate issues. I have chosen to separate these factors from other features of the racing world, because I feel that they are particularly significant elements of the racing community. Consequently, they are significant in defining the nature of the social organization and the social psychology of the track.

The fourth section of the thesis consists of the conclusion. In this part, I have attempted to develop a series of propositions about social organizations in general. My major purpose in writing this section is to provide a series of testable statements that can be used in the study of other social organizations.

The fifth and final section consists of three appendices. The general theme connecting them to each other concerns the types of issues that I encountered during the research period. In writing this section I have attempted to state some of my problems in doing the research and how I dealt with them. In other words.

it is about what I learned by doing the thesis research.

It is hoped that the account that follows will be both interesting and useful to the reader. As with most social organizations, the world of horse racing is extremely complex. What I have attempted to do is to seek out and explain the general similarities that characterize the race track as a social organization and show their relation to other social organizations.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

There are two basic approaches to the relationship between sociological theory and sociological research. In a sense, both approaches represent opposite poles on a continuum dealing with this relationship. The central concerns, assumptions and even the relevant questions of the approaches form a polarity. This is not to say that both cannot exist simultaneously in sociology, or even that both cannot be useful. However, before a sociologist seriously attempts to build theory, he should understand the strengths and limitations of the theory generating process he chooses.

Theoretical Assumptions

Logical-Deductive Theory

One basic approach to theory building is through the use of deductive logic. This approach presumes that sociological theory is built through a system of logically interrelated assumptions, often called propositions, each with a different degree of explanatory and predictive power. Essentially, the theorist using this approach begins with a few basic, abstract and highly general notions about the social world. From these notions he logically deduces less abstract and general statements which can be operationalized or otherwise empirically tested for purposes

of verification. This is the "trickle-down" approach to theory building. The theorist begins at the top with his highly abstract and general assumptions; then he logically deduces less abstract and more specific and concrete statements.

The researcher's role is essentially that of verifier of the lower-order statements. He takes the less abstract and general statements and attempts to discern their applicability to the real world. Ideally, if enough lower-order propositions are supported or verified through enough research efforts, then the higher-order propositions, the highly abstract and general assumptions, are assumed to be appropriate.

Merton (1968) attempts to state explicitly the relationship between logical-deductive theory and social research. Merton contends that the relationship is fourfold; sociological research may "recast theory," "re-focus theory," "clarify concepts," or research may extend old theory or develop new theory. Sociological research can "recast theory" by noting a new fact that may require the extension of a conceptual scheme. Social research makes conceptual clarity a necessity, because the verification of theory cannot take place unless the concept is defined in testable form. Theory is "re-focused" by social research, because theory depends on the continual influx of data in order to develop and expand conceptually. Thus, if the researcher shifts his research interest and efforts, the theorist faces the possibility of his theory stagnating from lack of up-to-date data. The

final element of the relationship between theory and research is the "serendipity pattern." This is the discovery of important, but unexpected and surprising, data by the researcher. The result of such a discovery may be either the modification of old theory or the development of a new theory.

Merton (1968) concludes by saying that sociological theory and research have a reciprocal relationship and that theory does not necessarily precede sociological research. In its essential nature, sociological research preceding the development of theory is not unknown in the building of logical-deductive theory, but it is rare. Of the four elements previously discussed, "re-casting theory" and "clarifications of concepts" are primarily concerned with the extension of old theory and making theoretical concepts more specific and concrete. The researcher can influence theory by changing his research efforts but this is not theory building.

The final element, "the serendipity pattern," is the only element that includes the researcher in the theory building process. However, even the researcher who discovers the unexpected is not necessarily brought into the realm of theory building; instead, he publishes his data for the theorist to ponder and explain. Also, the likelihood of serendipitous patterns being discovered and seriously considered through social research is limited, because the researcher is often more interested in

verification than in theory building. The researcher's interest is, more often, with attempting to fit the collected data into a previously developed scheme, thus de-emphasizing any serendipitous patterns which may have existed within the data.

So often in journals we read a highly empirical study which at its conclusion has a tacked-on explanation taken from a logically deduced theory. The author tries to give his data a more general sociological meaning, as well as to account for or interpret what he found. He uses this strategy because he has not been trained to generate a theory from the data he is reporting so that it will help interpret or explain the data in a general manner. He does this also because he has been trained only to research and verify his facts, not also to research and generate his explanation of them. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 4)

Lastly, the researcher concerned with verification seldom seeks out a situation which might not verify the proposition or propositions he is testing, thereby reducing the chances of observing a serendipity pattern.

Among the results of a division of labor such as the one just discussed between the theorists and the verifiers is that two distinct sociological languages have emerged.

The first is a theoretical language in which we do our thinking. The second is an operational language involving explicit instructions for classifying and measuring. (Blalock and Blalock, 1968: 23-24)

The roles of the theorist and researcher are not integrated and often not even complementary; as the Blalocks state,

... a correspondence between two concepts, one in each language, must be established by common agree-

ment or a priori assumption. (Blalock and Blalock, 1968: 24)

The assumption is that theory and research are necessarily incompatible, and can be compatible when certain "agreements" are made to bring sociological research into the theoretical enterprise. At other times, research and theory can be compatible when research yields important, but surprising and unexpected results which previously established theory cannot explain.

A second result of the division of labor between research and theory is an overemphasis by the verifier on the "fit" of his data. He is too concerned with whether or not his data will fit into the major theoretical schemes that exist and not with whether the basic assumptions of the theoretical scheme are most appropriate.

Talcott Parsons has observed that numerical data are scientifically important only when they can be fitted into analytical categories and that "a great deal of current research is producing facts in a form which cannot be utilized by any current generalized analytical scheme." (Merton, 1968: 167)

This distinction has given rise to two groups of practitioners of sociology, the theorists and the verifiers. The theorists' major concern is with developing logically interrelated statements and interpreting data gleaned from research in light of their theoretical schemes, whereas the verifiers are burdened with the task of operationalizing and testing the assumptions of the theorists. The result is a generation of students and sociologists who are preoccupied with verification of theoretical propositions of the

"great men" and not with the building of new theory.

Grounded-Inductive Theory

The generating process for grounded theory is the direct opposite of logical-deductive theory. Whereas logical-deductive theory begins with the higher abstract and general statements in the beginning and works down to verification through data, grounded theory starts with data collection and builds to the more abstract and general statements. Compared to logical-deductive theory, grounded theory is an inductive approach to theory building.

An important assumption of this view is that theory cannot be divorced from the technique or techniques used in its generation. Such important theoretical concerns as the explanatory and predictive power of a theory are inherently tied to the generating process.

We also believe that other canons for assessing a theory, such as logical consistency, clarity, parsimony, density, scope, integration, as well as its fit and its ability to work, are also significantly dependent on how the theory was generated. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 5)

The questions of validity, reliability and adequate sampling are less important for the grounded theorist, because the theory emerges from observation and data collection. To a certain extent, grounded theory is verified in the process of theory building.

A second tenet of the grounded theorist is that of comparison as an integral part of both sociological research and theory building. The emphasis on comparative analysis is far from being a new

development in sociology; it is included in a large part of the sociological tradition. Durkheim and Weber used the comparative method in many of their works, most notably in studies of suicide (1951) and bureaucracy (1947). Nor is this emphasis a re-emergence of an old research technique. Becker's (1963) Outsiders and Goffman's (1963) Stigma are more recent examples of comparative analysis, although they are not on the "grand" scale of the works of Durkheim and Weber. It is well to add that the comparative approach is not the exclusive domain of the grounded theorist. It has often been used by logical-deductive theorists and verifiers to clarify concepts and to verify propositions.

However, there is a difference between logical-deductive theorists and grounded-inductive theorists in the way they use comparative analysis. The logical-deductive theorist uses comparative analysis for clarification of concepts, for verification of propositions or for assessing the generality of his theory. The grounded theorist, on the other hand, uses comparative analysis as a basic technique in building his theory. He may be concerned with clarification of concepts, with verification of his propositions, or even with assessing the generality of his theory, but these concerns are secondary. His primary concern is with building theory by comparing, implicitly or explicitly, different social units. Thus, where the logical-deductive theorist can build his theory with or without comparative analysis, the grounded theorist has no theory without the constant use of comparative analysis,

explicitly or implicitly.

Comparative analysis is a useful tool in building theory, because it can include so many seemingly diverse social units. Durkheim's (1951) study of suicide is a classic example. He compared such seemingly incompatible factors as sex, age, marital status and religion in building his theory of suicide and social integration. Through comparative analysis he was able to discern the relationship each factor had to the suicide rate of various societies, as well as the relationship each factor had with the more abstract sociological concept of social integration. Durkheim, through his inductive approach, was able to extend his comparative analysis to comparisons within single categories. For example, there seemed to be an inconsistency between the suicide rates of other Protestant nations and those of Protestant England. By comparing the English brand of Protestantism with other types of Protestantism, he found that the Anglican Church had many similar features with Catholicism, thus explaining the lower rate of suicide for Great Britain.

Comparative analysis also facilitates, and, indeed, "formalizes" the emergence of serendipitous patterns. Again, drawing on Durkheim's (1951) Suicide, one finds that an unexpected relationship exists between suicide and homicide rates. When suicide rates rose, homicide rates decreased and when homicide rates increased, suicide rates decreased. Such a finding made further modification and elaboration of Durkheim's theory possible.

Comparative analysis need not involve such gross units. Howard S. Becker (1963) has used comparative analysis in his study of deviance: marijuana users and dance musicians. Based on data from these groups, Becker develops a formal theory of deviance. Another example is Goffman's (1961) discussion of total institutions. Through data collected in the study of mental patients and comparison with other like institutions, prisons, orphanages, etc., he developed a formal theory of institutionalized life.

Another approach to comparative analysis is through building "ideal types." Through comparison of like features of various social units, one can build a mental construct of the pure form. Weber's (1947) ideal typical bureaucracy is an example. The development of ideal types is useful in that it provides a standard for comparison of units. For example, the military and the university are both bureaucracies, but they are also very different. By comparing both to Weber's standard, the sociologist is in a position to specify both the similarities and differences. A second advantage of ideal types is that comparison does not stop with the development of the ideal type. Comparison is a built-in part of the ideal type; this is done in two ways. First, the ideal type is useful as a standard only if it is compared to non-ideal types. Secondly, as new data are collected, the ideal type may prove to be missing important elements as a basic standard. Comparative analysis makes it possible to continually add the missing parts to the basic standard.

Another major difference between logical-deductive theory and grounded theory is the degree of dependence each has on the research act. In grounded theory the research act is not estranged from theory building. While the logical-deductive theorist needs data to verify and modify his theory, the grounded theorist must have data to build theory. For the grounded theorist,

... generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 6)

This process eliminates the two distinct languages and the division of labor so evident in the building and testing of logical-deductive theory. The roles of researcher and theorist are integrated. They are one-and-the-same. To build theory, the theorist must become involved in research and the researcher must become involved in theory building from the outset of data gathering. Thus, the division of labor and two distinct languages are unnecessary for the grounded theorist.

Building theory is and must be more than gathering data. The stacking of pieces of data upon one another until they fall into a heap is not theory building; it is a heap and nothing else.

... as in all sciences, in sociology interpretation is all. A science may be loaded down with too many facts, its vision blurred by peering too intently at the machinery for collecting them. The selected facts can be brought to life, as the statisticians themselves agree, only by a compelling vision of their meaning. Untouched by the magic of a sufficiently powerful and trained imagination, data play dead. No exactitude will bring them to life. (Rieff, 1962: vii)

From the beginning, the grounded theorist must integrate both the role of researcher and the role of theorist. As the data are collected they must be analyzed in terms of what they indicate theoretically. As more and more data are collected, categories must be developed from the data, but the categories based on data are not enough. The categories must also give the collected data meaning. All subsequent data must be compared to the categories, in terms of the appropriateness of the categories to explain what is being observed. There is an important difference between stacking data and allowing theory to emerge from the data, and that difference is analysis. Without analysis the data are useless. With analysis the researcher is in a position to build theory that is based on the facts of empirical reality.

There are two ways to build theory from research. One results in substantive theory and is limited to one area, e.g. marijuana use, mental patients or the organization of police departments. Although substantive theory attempts to explain the specific object under study, it usually explains little else. The comparison involved is specific to the object of the study; the generality of the theory is limited.

A second type of theory generated from data is formal theory. Formal theory may be separate from substantive theory, but this seldom is the case when the grounded theory approach is used. It is easiest to view formal theory as a development from substantive theory. That is, one starts by developing a substantive theory

including comparative analysis. The process, however, does not stop there. Next, the researcher broadens his central concept or problem. Data are gathered to compare with the broadened concern of the researcher. New generalizations are then based on the new topic of research, as well as the original substantive topic. An example of building formal theory is that of Erving Goffman's (1961) Asylums. From data collected through observation, Goffman could have limited himself to a theory of mental hospitals and mental patients. However, by selecting specific characteristics of the hospitals as the focus of his study and through comparison with organizations with similar and different features, Goffman developed a formal theory of "total institutions." It is important to understand that, although grounded theory is very much unlike logical-deductive theory, it is possible to develop both general, formal theory and substantive theory through the inductive methodologies of grounded theory.

Grounded theory is a dynamic approach to theory building. Because it emerges from observed data its essence is dynamic. The use of the constant comparative analysis necessitates continuous modification and change of the theory. Grounded theory is process,

... that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfected product. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 32)

Questions of Verification

As suggested in the opening paragraph of this chapter, because the generating process of logical-deductive theory and grounded

theory are so different, the important questions stemming from each are different. At times this difference stems from the research techniques used, i.e., there seems to be a strong tendency to test logical-deductive theory with quantitative research techniques and to build grounded theory with qualitative research techniques. The implied assumption is incorrect. Either technique can be used for verification of logical-deductive theory, as well as for building grounded theory. More often, however, the difference results from the differing concerns of the logical-deductive verifier and the grounded-inductive theorist.

Validity

A question often asked early in his investigation by the verifier regards the validity of the measure being used. Does the measure, be it quantitative or qualitative, actually measure what it is purported to measure? Put in another way, is the verifier measuring what the theorist is talking about? This question is crucial for the verifier and the logical-deductive theorist. If it is impossible to measure accurately the key concept or concepts and their relationship, then it is impossible to verify the extent to which the theory is a true depiction of empirical reality.

One answer to this question is offered by Lundberg (1939). He claims that operationalizing a concept is a process of both putting the concept in testable form and defining the concept. If a sociologist is interested in measuring racial prejudice, then the scale he chooses or creates not only measures racial prejudice,

but it also defines it, according to Lundberg.

If one is asked what is meant by the concept of 'intelligence', he should be told that intelligence is what an IQ test measures. (Blalock and Blalock, 1968: 8)

Although Lundberg's approach, to a large extent, eliminates the question of validity, it is not very useful in practical terms. For example, if Lundberg defines racial prejudice through one scale and someone else defines it with a different scale, both might logically assume their measures are accurate. The question remains, however, which of the scales is the true measure of racial prejudice?

More often, quantitative verifiers find the question of validity to be more plaguing than did Lundberg. The usual procedure is to use one of four techniques or a combination of the four (Goode and Hatt, 1952). The first, logical validity, is a common sense approach to establishing validity. The verifier assumes certain uniformities or consistencies exist in the social world based on past research, some logical-deductive theory, or his own common sensical view of the social world. Logical validation inherently has the same problems and limitations as any common sense analysis of the social world.*

*As Goode and Hatt (1952: 237) state, "On a question concerning 'what should be done about Communism', then, we might agree that conservatives would suggest further restrictions, while liberals would be somewhat more lenient. We would thus feel justified in including such an item. However, empirical study may indicate that this item is of little use, since some conservatives will be less strict, following a nineteenth-century conception of judicial protection of individual rights. And many liberals,

A second major approach to establishing validity is by the use of jury opinion. Jury opinion involves the seeking out of people who are knowledgeable about the situation or problem under consideration. The opinions and ideas of these people are assumed to be an accurate reflection of reality. This is basically a common-sense approach as well. The jury members may not share the same common-sense judgements as the verifier, but their reactions are still based on their own common-sense views.

The known-groups approach is an attempt to build a valid continuum or scale by establishing the extreme poles of a continuum. The verifier studies the groups that hold radically different values or attitudes toward the object of the study. The assumption is that if one knows the extreme poles of the continuum, then less extreme groups can be fitted into the continuum. The verifier using this approach runs the risk that the basic point dividing the extreme groups may not be the one under sociological consideration. For example, Banfield (1970) has pointed out that the basic differences between blacks and whites in America may not be that of race, but of social class.

A final approach may be an attempt to build a valid measure through a composite of independent criteria. The verifier uses a large number of factors which combine to produce an effect. For

bitter with what they consider a Communist betrayal of reform movements, may suggest that such protections be discarded."

example, if a verifier is interested in studying racial prejudice, he might collect data on age, educational level, income, occupation, sex and residential location. The problem is that the verifier does not know whether any of the factors is important, or if some are important, which are most important. Secondly,

...if these independent criteria are available and reflect the continuum accurately, then there is little reason for the existence of the scale. (Goode and Hatt, 1952: 239)

For the qualitative verifier the question of validity is more serious. Where the quantifier can limit outside factors, to a certain extent, through his questionnaire or other measures, the qualitative verifier must deal with situations where intervening variables cannot be isolated from their behavioral context.

Human behavior and social organization involve subtleties and variations which the qualitative methodologist must sort and assess in terms of his hypothesis or hypotheses. At times, the sorting and assessing involved is somewhat arbitrary and the question of validity is, and must be, raised. The frequent result is an overemphasis on collecting an abundance of data. The assumption is that reams of single-spaced research notes establish validity.

The grounded theorist, then, finds the question of validity to be of less concern. Not that accuracy is unimportant, but his primary concern is with theory building and not verification.

Thus, generation of theory through comparative analysis both subsumes and assumes verifications and

accurate descriptions, but only to the extent that the latter are in the service of generation. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 28)

The grounded theorist, moreover, is less concerned with validity than the verifier is because validity is, to a large extent, built into the theoretical process. Because the grounded theorist allows his explanation to emerge from his data, the concepts will be based on observed data which are easily testable or operationalized. Thus the question of valid operationalization is eliminated. Secondly, by continually comparing the new data to the established categories, the concept or concepts are continually modified to fit the data in such a way that validity loses its importance as an issue. Further, because comparative analysis does not stop with one group, but is carried to similar and dissimilar groups, the concepts must be defined in an accurate, testable manner. Therefore, the question of validity, although not irrelevant, is less relevant to the grounded theorist than the verifier of logical-deductive theory.

Reliability

Another important methodological problem is the question of reliability of the research effort. Can the research process be reproduced and yield the same results? That is, a reliable test increases the believability of both the lower-order and the higher-order propositions of the deductive system. However, if reliability cannot be achieved, the theory continues to be simply a series of untested but logically interrelated assumptions about the social world.

There are three major avenues available for solving the reliability problem in verification research. One technique is the test-retest approach. The verifier submits his scale to an initial group and records the results. Later, the researcher again administers the same scale to the same group. The assumption is that if the scale yields the same or closely similar results in both cases, the scale is reliable.

The significant problem with the test-retest approach is that the group itself becomes a variable. Because the group has seen the questionnaire previously, they may change their responses on the second administration of the questionnaire. Some respondents may feel that it is important to be consistent, and consequently, they attempt to duplicate the answers they gave during the first administration. Other respondents may feel that it is important to reflect a change, so they change their responses to suit what they presume to be the aims of the research. Still a final problem lies in controlling the environment of the subjects. In the time between the first test and the second test, any number of experiences could change the perceptions of the individual subjects.

A second approach is that of equivalent forms. The verifier develops two scales which are assumed to measure the same thing. Both are given the same sample and should, ideally, yield the same results. The major problem with this technique is that if both scales measure the same thing, it is possible that the subjects will notice the connection and alter their responses.

The split-half technique is a third approach. The verifier splits his scale into two parts and the researcher submits both halves to two samples. If the scale is reliable, both halves will yield the same or similar results. The verifier using this technique must be able to demonstrate that both halves are reliable in themselves, as well as forming a unity when put together.

Although all three techniques for attaining a reliable measure have their deficiencies, the biggest problem is with the generality of the measure. The more specific the measure is, the more reliable it will usually be.

Yet, this added specificity also means that

the instrument is not applicable in all parts of the society. (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968: 300)

Additionally, the verifier attempting to establish the reliability of a scale must necessarily assume that all things remain the same, i.e., that no change occurs. It is not uncommon to hear a professor in a research methods class tell his students, "Assuming all factors remain constant, then this scale will yield these results." The practical fact is that all things do not remain the same and change is inherent and continuous in all social systems.

For the grounded theorist the question of reliability is relatively unimportant. He is not concerned with verifying a theory. He is interested in building one. The logical question for the grounded theorist is not whether the study can be replicated and yield the same results, but what is present in the situation under consideration that is of theoretical importance?

The constantly changing nature of the social world is not a problem either. The grounded theorist is concerned with change as inherent in social life and incorporates it into the development of his theory. Significant change nearly always brings out factors that otherwise would not come to light under normal circumstances. Many times the grounded theorist's major concern is with change. For example, Becker's (1963) Outsiders is a study of the processes involved in becoming deviant. His central concern is with the personal and organizational changes and adjustments that take place due to the application of a deviant label to an individual or group.

Sampling

The final question of method and technique must regard the size and quality of the sample, as well as the sampling technique employed. In other words, does the sample used represent "random man"? If the sample is too small or is not representative, it is not the theory that is inappropriate, but the verification process. Thus the question of sampling is crucial to both the quantitative and the qualitative verifier.

Under many circumstances, quantitative research has been little more than the use of a simple polling technique, i.e., individual responses were often considered independent of the social environment of the individual. The researcher can come away with a great deal of information about the attitudes and social backgrounds of his respondents, but know little or nothing about the

social milieu that generated those attitudes.

As with the questions of reliability and validity, the question of sampling is less important for the grounded theorist than for the verifier. The first distinction regards the purpose of the sample. For the verifier the sample is important because he must adequately test the theoretical propositions he has operationalized. The grounded theorist begins with no hypothesis or hypotheses. Therefore, the question of an adequate sample is less important from the beginning. Instead, the grounded theorist tests hypotheses that emerge from the data in the course of his research. Sampling becomes relevant only after the hypotheses have emerged.

Secondly, the purpose of collecting data in grounded theory is different from what it is in logical-deductive formulations. The verifier is interested in testing a previously developed theory or some part of a previously developed theory. The significant concern for the verifier is methodological. That is, does the sample meet the criteria for an adequate sample?

... in statistical sampling the sociologist must continue with data collection no matter how much saturation he perceives....Even though he becomes aware of what his findings will be, and knows he is collecting the same thing over and over to the point of boredom, he must continue because the rules of accurate evidence require the fullest coverage to achieve the most accurate count. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 64-65)

The grounded theorist is not concerned with rules of adequate sampling; his concern is with theoretical sampling. A sample is theoretically saturated when the grounded theorist can no

longer generate new categories from the collected data. When theoretical saturation occurs, whether it involves ten or one hundred cases, data collection for that sample ceases. Instead of collecting more data from the same group, the grounded theorist searches for comparative data. The search for comparative data may include the study of a new group or several new groups, secondary analysis or library research, but the new data must be relevant to the theoretical concern of the research and not necessarily related to meeting the requirement of an adequate sample. Indeed, the grounded theorist cannot and need not ascertain the size of his sample until his research has been completed.

Furthermore, the grounded theorist does not have the problem of establishing contextual analysis that Coleman (1958-1959) describes. While the verifier must seek out and sample a context that is representative of the theoretical propositions he has chosen, this is not a problem for the grounded theorist. Because the hypotheses emerge from the data, the collected data reflect the context of social relationships within the social setting. The relationship between the climate of the situation and the attitudes and behaviors of the individuals is built into the research act.

As mentioned previously, the verifier must sample his population in terms of the theoretical propositions he is testing according to the rules for proper data collection. Even in contextual analysis, there is much stress placed on gathering suffi-

cient data and the techniques of data collection. The grounded theorist is primarily interested in the theoretical propositions that can be drawn from the context and not primarily with measuring the context.

Conclusion

Although the building and verifying of logical-deductive theory and the building of grounded theory may appear to be vastly different, they are not entirely in opposition. Both the logical-deductive theorist and verifier and the grounded theorist are attempting to build meaningful sociological theory. The major differences are in the approaches used. The logical-deductive theorist approaches theory building from the top by beginning with the highly abstract concepts and moving downward to the specific. The grounded theorist approaches theory building from the opposite direction.

Because the grounded theorist and the logical-deductive theorist approach theory building from opposite directions, the significant methodological and theoretical questions stemming from them are different. I have attempted explicitly to state the important questions involved in the verification of logical-deductive theory. It is not that questions regarding validity, reliability and sampling are irrelevant for grounded theorists; instead, it is that they are of less importance for them. Similarly, questions regarding theoretical saturation and adequate comparison are of less concern to the verifier of logical-deductive theory.

Both approaches to theory building are useful in the pursuit of sociological understanding. But the usefulness of each varies with the theory generation process. Both give a perspective and explanation of the storehouse of data that has been collected in the interest of advancing sociological knowledge. Both give direction for the future development of sociological theory and research. In many respects, grounded theory is the more useful on the applied level. Because the theory is couched in, and arises from, data, grounded theory can be applied to specific problems more easily. If, however, sociology is to continue to advance as an academic discipline and as a source of insight for the solving and understanding of practical problems, it needs both logical-deductive theory and grounded theory.

A problem in contemporary sociology is that the inductive, comparative approach of the grounded theorist is too often not taken as a serious, viable approach to expanding sociological knowledge. There has been an overemphasis on logical-deductive theory and the techniques of verification in recent years. The assumption seems to be that there is sufficient sociological theory and the job of the sociologist is simply verification and modification of the ideas of the "master" theorists.

No science, including sociology, can continue to advance without the constant evaluation of old theory and the development of new theory. Science is a dynamic and constantly changing attempt to understand the dynamic and constantly changing nature of the

world. Grounded theory is one way of understanding and explaining the social world, as well as a method of advancing the science of sociology.

With the foregoing review in mind, we move now to the application of the grounded theory approach toward sociological knowledge of the social organization of a horse racing track. We begin with a physical and social description of the track, through its ecological structure.

CHAPTER II: THE ECOLOGY OF THE RACE TRACK

The ecological approach to sociological description has several advantages for those interested in social organization. First, it allows the observer to emphasize the role of spatial characteristics in the description of a social organization. Horsemen, like others, live in a world of physical and social structures which define the areas of appropriate human action. Secondly, the ecological approach allows the observer to explore the interrelations among the various structures in the environment of the social organization. The race track is not isolated from the surrounding urban area. Instead, the race track and the larger urban organization are intermeshed. Lastly, the interrelation among the various individuals, groups and structures which exist within the confines of YA-WET-AG forms a separate and important environment for the horsemen. Thus, the race track known as YA-WET-AG exists as both a single ecological system and as a part of the larger ecological system of the city. We move now to consider the place of YA-WET-AG within the larger urban context.

The Track Within the City

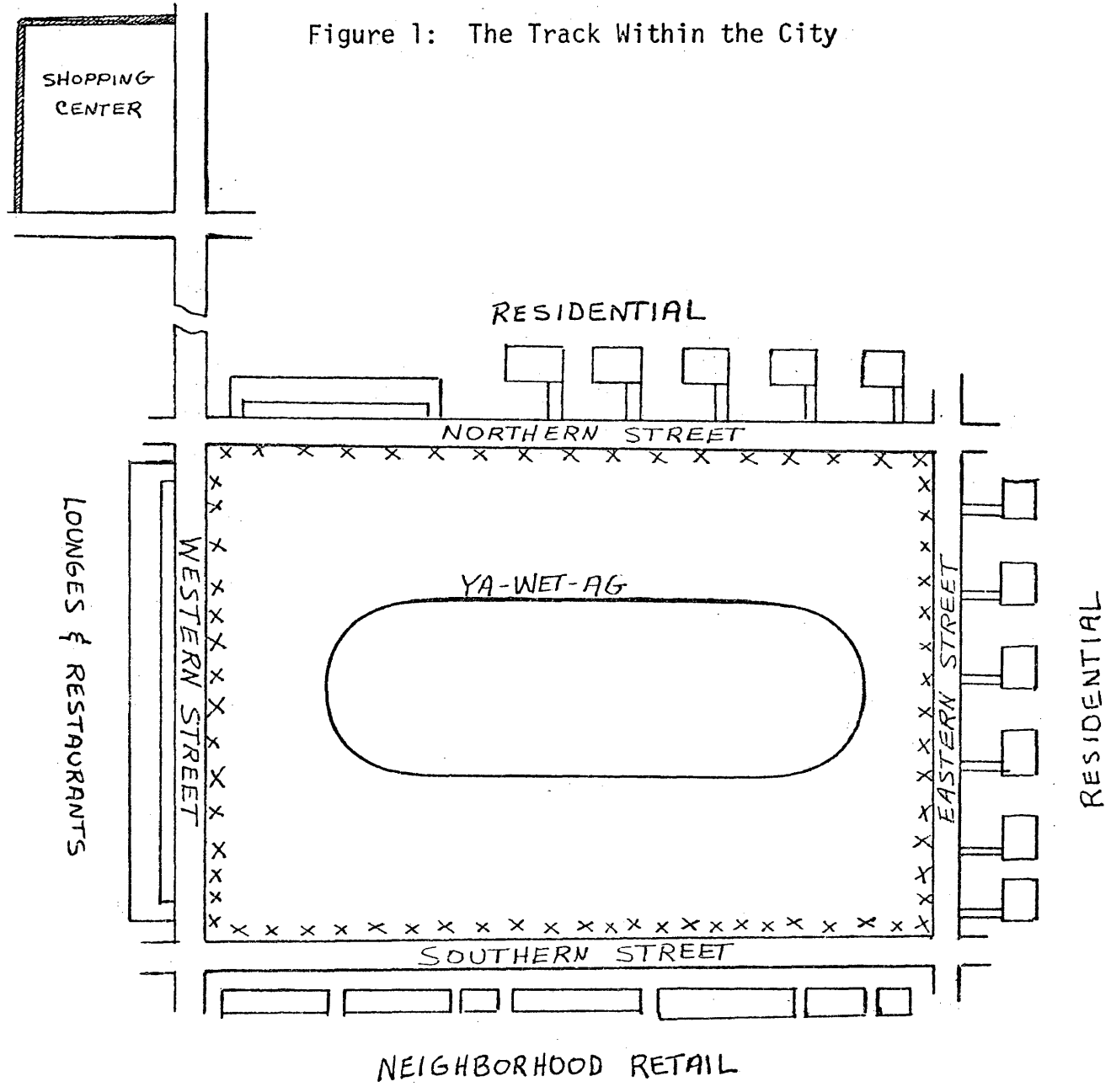
The location of YA-WET-AG within the city is of importance because of the presence of natural structures, i.e., streets and buildings, which set severe limits on the area which is known as YA-WET-AG. There are no broad transitional areas, such as grassy

fields, which might incorporate the race track into the surrounding area. In fact, the distinction between the race track and the surrounding community is symbolized by a large wire fence which surrounds YA-WET-AG. Consequently, the large size and the physical boundaries of the track make YA-WET-AG an easily identifiable and separate area of the city.

To the west of the track is a major thoroughfare of the city, commonly known as "the strip" (Figure 1). For many of the city residents this is the most important major street running from the north to the south. This street connects the residential areas of the northwest and southwest parts of the city with the major shopping centers located in the west central area of the city. The location of the race track along this street and near the major shopping centers means that the racing community is not an isolated community within the city. Instead, the horsemen at YA-WET-AG must take account of both the urban aspects of the racing facility and the urban activities which take place outside the racing facility.

Of importance is the large number of restaurants and lounges that line this major street. For the most part, these businesses exist to serve the more permanent city dwellers. During the racing season, however, the restaurants and lounges along this street count many of the racing community as a part of their clientele. In these businesses the distinction between YA-WET-AG and the rest of the city becomes somewhat blurred; the worlds of the urbanite and the racing man overlap and intermingle. The two

Figure 1: The Track Within the City



worlds do not become indistinct, however. Rather, differences in individual and group background and experience are readily observable. Patterns of interaction, although to a certain extent mixed, are largely divided between the urban dwellers and the horsemen.

Many horsemen avoid the restaurants and lounges of this area, because the more urban and sophisticated atmosphere of these places is a source of uncomfortable feelings for many of the rural and less sophisticated racing men. Many restaurant and lounge employees are very much aware of the division of their customers and often augment the uncomfortable feelings of the horsemen. Frequently, the horsemen must put up with slow service and condescending attitudes by waiters and waitresses. Many horsemen feel the owners and operators of these businesses are only interested in the horsemen's money.

Other businesses located along this street are also seen as exploitative by many of the horsemen. One of the largest department store chains within the city handles the concessions for YA-WET-AG during the racing season. One of the branch stores is located in a shopping center near the racing facility. Many horsemen, however, see the prices in the store as too high. Two horsemen once asked me for the name and location of an inexpensive novelty shop. They claimed to have looked at the department store, but the prices were too expensive. The high prices of the store are often a source of bitterness by the horsemen. One horseman, in referring to the store handling the YA-WET-AG concessions business, said that, "they would be a lot smaller without us," but the store

does not acknowledge their dependence upon the horsemen or the racing meet with discounts or special services.

Although many horsemen feel uncomfortable and exploited by the businesses located along the street to the west of YA-WET-AG, some horsemen frequent them. The horsemen who are regularly found in these businesses are the more successful, affluent and sophisticated of the racing community. This group includes horsemen who own the largest stock of horses of the highest quality. Due to their racing success, these men are more likely to feel comfortable in an urban setting and, also, possess sufficient money to pay the more expensive urban prices. A second group of horsemen who frequent the businesses along the western street are those people who are involved in horse racing as a side activity or a diversion. These people derive the bulk of their incomes from non-racing sources and tend to be from urban rather than rural areas.

Both of these groups are a minority of the racing community. Most of the horsemen are not wealthy and do not possess the social skills of the urbanite.

To the south of YA-WET-AG is another major street of the city. It is distinguished from that on the west of YA-WET-AG by two factors. First, it is not the only major street connecting the eastern and western parts of the city. Other streets and a freeway system are available to travelers. Consequently, the extent of use and the nature of the travelers on this street are somewhat different. Secondly, this street does not connect large

shopping areas with the outlying areas. Instead, the businesses along this street are primarily small retail shops that cater most directly to the people who live in and around the YA-WET-AG area. The result of these two conditions is a street which is characterized by more localized travel and more localized business.

Of particular importance to the horsemen are the bars which exist along this street. They are primarily small with a limited, neighborhood clientele. During the racing season these bars are used by the horsemen as places for entertainment and diversion. The working class atmosphere of the bars stands in contrast to the more sophisticated atmosphere and clientele of the lounges to the west. For many horsemen, particularly the less affluent and the rurally oriented, these bars are the center for non-racing entertainment and sociability.

It is in the bars along the street to the south that the horsemen are most likely to get special treatment. Indeed, the owners of many of the bars cater specifically to the horsemen. Several bars make reference, directly or indirectly, to horse racing in their names. The emphasis on horse racing is evident in not only their names, but, also, in the change in atmosphere which takes place as the racing season progresses. Subtle changes take place which transform the bars from predominately neighborhood and working class bars into rural and racing bars. The content of the juke box is changed to include mostly country and western songs. The television is left off except for the racing results.

Pictures of winning horses and trainers are placed on the walls. And, an almanac of horse racing is brought out from behind the bar to settle the continual arguments about the history of horse racing.

The content of conversations shifts to the concerns of horse racers and rural men. This became particularly evident to me when an urban working class man spent an entire evening discussing the problems of urban life with me, because no one else in the bar knew what he was talking about. This man was not a newcomer to the bar; he frequented it almost nightly throughout the year. During racing season, however, it was no longer his bar; instead, it belonged to the horsemen and he was the intruder.

Other businesses along this street are characterized by horse racing ties as well. Pictures of winning horses and trainers hang from the walls of gas stations and other retail establishments. Many of the businesses actively solicit the horsemen through window advertising, such as "Horsemen Welcome," and through advertising in the racing program and other publications which are read by the horsemen.

Not the least of the businesses that depend upon the race track is the trailer court directly across the street from YA-WET-AG. Many of the horsemen travel in mobile homes and need a place to set up their homes. The trailer court is in an ideal location for meeting this need. Other horsemen do not own mobile homes and must look for housing at each racing meet. Often it is impossible to find an

apartment for such a short period, so they rent mobile homes. The trailer court offers such a service. Many of the horsemen feel that the rent charges are inflated during the racing season. The homes available for rent are not cheap, however. For example, two young horsemen priced the rent on a small one bedroom mobile home and found the rent to be prohibitive and decided to live in the stable instead.

The streets demarking YA-WET-AG to the north and east are bordered on one side with residential dwellings. The boundary between the residential area and the racing facility is the most clearly defined of all the boundaries. Unlike the businessmen on the south and west of YA-WET-AG, the residents of the area see no personal advantages to the racing meet. Instead, it is something that must be endured for nine weeks each year. New problems such as heavy traffic, noise from the track and trespassing, must be tolerated with no monetary or social return for the individual or the residential community.

The central content of the relationship between the local residents and the members of the racing community is strain and, occasionally, conflict. Although the YA-WET-AG officials can point to the economic advantages of the racing meet, the economic advantages are most directly enjoyed by others and not by members of the local community. Except for the relatively few who rent portions of their homes to horsemen, the bulk of the increased revenue goes to businessmen who do not usually live in the neighborhood.

YA-WET-AG officials are aware of the problems and occasionally attempt to solve them. The attempts are seldom successful, however. For example, a fence was built along the northern side of the race track in response to complaints that racing fans were watching the races by trespassing on the lawns of neighborhood residents. In large part, this action was unsuccessful and the residents found it necessary to insist upon stricter enforcement of trespassing laws by the police. Many residents claimed, however, that the police continued to be lax in the enforcement of these laws. Even when the police did intervene on behalf of the residents, the residents were stuck with cleaning up the litter left by the trespassers.

Other problems are even more difficult to solve. There is little that the YA-WET-AG officials or the police can do to minimize the noise and traffic which result from the racing meet. These problems are a natural by-product of any large event. Yet, the neighborhood residents must reorganize their lives around these factors with little or no prospect of direct individual or collective reward for their sacrifices.

The horsemen who race at YA-WET-AG are in a situation where they are defined as intruders and to a certain extent, disrupters of city life. The businesses along the streets to the west and south do not depend exclusively upon the horsemen for their economic existences, but, during the racing meet, the business operators take advantage of the new sources of income. Consequently, the horsemen feel uncomfortable and exploited by the businessmen

of the area. Likewise, the regular, neighborhood customers often find their wants and needs subordinated to the demands and needs of the horsemen.

The situation is made more difficult by the lack of physical mobility of most of the horsemen. Few of the horsemen are sufficiently aware of the city to strike out to other areas of the city; instead, they tend to spend most, if not all, of their time within the direct area of YA-WET-AG. Even those horsemen who do know the city are often hesitant to go too far from the racing facility and the surrounding area. Most of the horsemen are from small, rural towns and they are not accustomed to driving in the city. This is a significant problem for many horsemen. The wife of a trainer once asked me if there were a park in the area for her children to play. I told her of a park that was close by, but she refused to take her children. Getting to the park involved the crossing of a major street and she was unwilling to drive across a busy street.

The YA-WET-AG racing meet is a source of various social strains. The quality and degree of strain between the horsemen and other urban groups varies from business to business and individual to individual, but it is sufficiently important to set severe boundaries between the racing community and its urban context. Devereaux, in discussing the relationship between the racing community and the larger community, states:

Moreover, the people who work at the track are isolated from normal channels of interaction with the broader community as a result of physical, spatial, psychological, and social barriers. (Devereaux, 1949: 252)

This is the usual case at YA-WET-AG, as well.

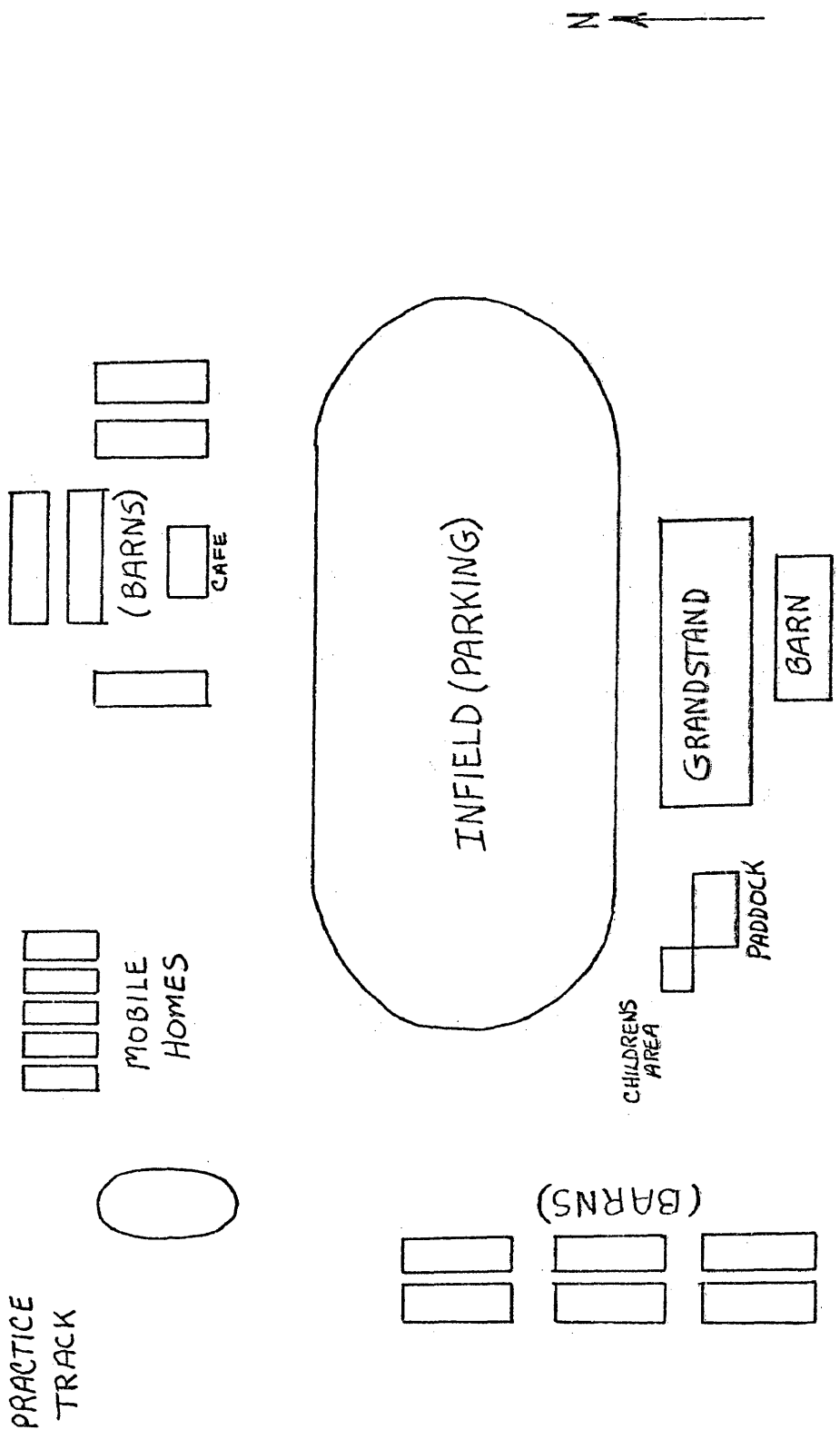
The Track as an Ecological System

The race track is more than a mere part of the larger city; it is a unit unto itself. Within the boundaries of YA-WET-AG are structures and processes which tend to define it as both similar to and different from other race tracks. One area of differentiation is the physical organization of the track.

Physically the race track consists of varying structures and land areas that provide for specific needs and activities of the racing community. There are barns for housing the horses, a paddock area for preparing the horses for the race, a cafe to feed the horsemen, a land area for parking mobile homes, a segregated area for children--defined as anyone under sixteen years of age--and a large grandstand which is made up of several independent and interrelated structures and sections (Figure 2).

The barns are located in three general areas, to the south, west and north of the track. It is rather difficult to differentiate horsemen in terms of the location of the barns. Each of the three barn areas is characterized by both large and small stables. The barns located to the west and north of the track are, however, distinct from the southern barn in terms of physical characteristics. The barns to the west and north consist of a series of individual stables linked together with a small supply room, called a tack room, on each end of the complex of stables. The southern barn, on the other hand, is one large self-enclosed structure. The

Figure 2: The Track as an Ecological System



southern barn is subdivided by stables that are built in a series of rows within the larger building. At the end of each row of stables is a tack room.

The physical differences stem from the uses of the buildings. The barns on the northern and western portions of the racing facility are used exclusively for stabling horses. The self-enclosed structure to the south is used for stabling horses during the racing meets, but it is also used to house other animals for other events which are a part of the general YA-WET-AG program that occur during the remainder of the year. For example, the southern barn is used to stable rodeo animals during the annual rodeo held at YA-WET-AG. Consequently, the southern barn is different from the others which are used for housing race horses.

The paddock is the area where the horses are prepared for each race. Each horse is brought to the paddock approximately fifteen minutes before the race. While there, the track veterinarian checks the identification number of each horse.* Here, too, each jockey is weighed and the proper amount of lead weight is added to each saddle in order that each horse will be carrying the prescribed weight for the race.** Finally, the horses are saddled by the

*Aside from being given a name, each horse is given an identification number which is tattooed under its upper lip. The track veterinarian checks the number of each horse to insure that the horse

**The amount of weight assigned to each horse will vary with each race. In most races the purpose of adding weight to the saddle is to make the weight on each horse equal. Thus, a very

the officials, mounted by the jockeys and lead to the track for the upcoming race.

The paddock is a significant area because it is not isolated from the track patrons. By its location between the grandstand and the children's area, and the fact that it has a viewing area for the track patrons, the paddock is one place where the horsemen and track patrons can intermingle. In fact, it is a very busy place between races. Horsemen go there to compare the quality of the animals for betting purposes or possibly to buy the horse. The crucial aspect of the paddock is that the betting public is allowed into the area.

It is in the paddock area that the trainer gives his instructions to his jockey concerning how the race is to be won. This is important to those segments of the betting public that have learned to "read" the actions of trainers. These people attempt to obtain tips on the upcoming race by observing the actions of the trainer. Although there are thirty minutes between the races, the crucial trainer-jockey interaction takes place just before the horses enter the track, about five minutes before the race. Those who use this practice must be able to "read" the interaction cues and make their

* running the race is also the same horse that is officially assigned to the race.

** light jockey will have weight added to his saddle to make him equal to the others. In some races, handicap races, the officials attempt to equalize the chances of each horse entered in the race. In this case, the horses that are judged to be of highest quality will be assigned higher weights than the other entries.

decisions quickly.

By observing the trainer in interaction with the jockey - and by coming to "know" trainers over the course of time - the pro can read cues that will provide him with decisive betting information. The pro looks for various idiosyncracies - whether the trainer brings his wife or girl friend, whether or not he gives the jockey a ticket on the horse, and so forth - for a tipoff as to the trainer's intentions. (Scott, 1968: 8)

The track cafe is, perhaps, the least known physical structure at the racing facility. It stands hidden among the barns on the north side of the track. Consequently, few patrons know of it and almost none visit it. The cafe is a concrete structure with no distinguishing features other than a small sign over the entrance that states the name of the cafe. Inside, the cafe is made up of a self service food line and various groupings of chairs and tables.

Both internally and externally the cafe is very much like a country cafe. The design of the building is simple with nothing other than a small sign to identify it. Inside, the arrangement is simple with no special qualities to distinguish it from other cafes. The eating utensils are simple and designed as functional items and nothing more. The cafe, then, is nothing more than a place to eat, drink coffee or talk, and all of the artifacts found there contribute directly to this purpose.

Bordering the street on the north is a small grassy area designed for parking mobile homes. The area is divided into a series of narrow grassy areas with small gravelled roads between them. Each row is designed for two or three mobile homes. Due to the small size of the area, few horsemen live in this area.

Although the patrons of the track are aware of the mobile home area--it is not surrounded by anything that could hide it--it is of little importance to them. Even the horsemen do not emphasize this part of the facility. Instead, most racing life centers around the barns, the grandstand, the paddock and the track itself.

The children's section is located to the west of the paddock. It is a small area enclosed by a high wire fence with a guard at the only entrance and exit. By law, people under the age of sixteen years are not allowed in the grandstand or paddock areas. Thus, they are segregated into the children's section. It is made up of two levels. The first level is a flat concrete area which is supposedly designed as a play area. At the back of the first level are several benches which are shaded by a small roof. The benches are usually filled with mothers who have small children. The lower level of the children's area is a concession stand.

The children's area is significant only in that it is indicative of the atmosphere of the race track. Horse racing is an adult game. The children who are brought to the track are of marginal importance. For example, the play area of the children's area is nothing more than a large slab of concrete, much subjected to the sun on hot summer afternoons. There are no swings, see-saws, or anything that might be considered play equipment. Instead, the children are placed in the guarded area until their parents return to take them from the race track. Even the mothers who stay in the children's area usually leave shortly before each race to place

their bets. It is not surprising, then, that many of the children of the regular patrons are as expert in their own way at the horse racing game as their parents.

The grandstand is the most prominent part of the race track. It is divided into four general areas and each area contains locations for betting, collecting for winning tickets, snack bars and information centers. The first level of the grandstand contains a large auditorium in which patrons can view the races on closed circuit television in air-conditioned comfort. In many ways the auditorium is a separate section of the facility. It contains the betting and collecting points of the other parts of the grandstand, as well as snack bars and information centers. Coupled with these attractions, the auditorium also offers instant video replays of the races.

In a sub-basement of the grandstand is a track restaurant which is frequented primarily by racing patrons. Aside from serving all types of meals, it is equipped with closed circuit television and betting and collecting locations.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the grandstand is the capturing or total institution effect it has upon the individual. There is no place within the confines of the grandstand where one can go without being a few steps from a betting location. In addition, there are numerous information centers which, among their other services, help the novice bettor to place his bet. The entire physical lay-out of the grandstand is designed with the convenience of the bettor in mind.

Conclusion

The racing facility known as YA-WET-AG is an urban facility; consequently, it cannot be understood without looking at the larger urban context in which it operates. At the same time, it is a separate and distinct unit within the city and it must also be considered as a whole. It is the combination of these two factors which make it a racing facility that is different from any other part of the city and different from any other race track.

It may be claimed that the race track is a microcosm of middle-western America. It is at the race track that people from all walks and ways of life congregate. The young and the old, the rich and the poor, the urban man and the country man and the conformist and deviant are all found at the race track. The congregation of such diverse peoples is in many ways a reflection of the Middle West, but the result of the congregation is more than a microcosm; it is also a unique social organization.

YA-WET-AG is a community that is different from all other communities. It is what Park (1929) called a descript community. It has a unity, charm, and organization which no other area of the city possesses. As one patron said, where else can "you lose all of your money and have so much fun doing it."

The physical organization of the track is an important part of the organization of YA-WET-AG. The fact that the racing facility is located in the city means that the type of clientele will be predominately urban. Yet, the racing facility is also a separate

entity within the city, and the organization of such structures as the grandstand, the children's area, the area for mobile homes, the paddock and the location of the barns all serve to constrict and emphasize certain types of human action.

Within the physical confines of the racing facility is a separate social world, as well. The diverse peoples who congregate at YA-WET-AG bring with them a diversity of activities and purposes which help to define it as a social world separate from the world outside YA-WET-AG. For as Blumer claims, the physical organization of any social situation is only one aspect of the entire social situation.

Human beings live in a world or environment of objects and their activities are formed around objects. This bland statement becomes very significant when it is realized that for Mead objects are human constructs and not self-existing entities with intrinsic natures. Their nature is dependent on the orientation and action of people toward them. (Blumer, 1969: 68)

CHAPTER III: ACTORS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

A second way of describing and analyzing the world of horse racing is in terms of the actors who make up the social organization of the track and their activities which give content and form to the social organization. Without the participation of individuals through social action there cannot be any organization of a social nature. As Warriner states:

Whenever a group can be said to exist something is going on: people are talking with each other, shaking hands, praying to their gods, or performing some task. It is this which we can observe and it is only through the observation of action that we can make the inference that the group exists. (Warriner, 1970: 14)

Thus, social organization is a process or stream of action (Warriner, 1970) in which individual actors create a social whole through their individual but interdependent actions and activities. It is the interdependent nature of social action that gives each social organization a type of dynamism which differentiates it from all other social organizations. At the same time, the interdependent nature of individual and group actions gives each social organization a regularity that is observable.

My own view is that the concrete reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned in observation, description, comparison and classification, is not any sort of entity but a process, the process of social life.... The process itself consists of an immense multitude of actions and interactions of human beings, acting as individuals or in combinations or groups. Amidst the diversity of the particular events

there are discoverable regularities, so that it is possible to give statements or descriptions of certain general features of the social life of a selected region. A statement of such significant general features of the process of social life constitutes a description of what may be called a form of social life. (Radcliffe-Brown, 1965: 4)

Participating Groups

The complex world of horse racing is made up of many groups involved in many activities. Basically, the world of the horsemen is characterized by ten activities and associated groups: trainers, owners, jockeys, gallopers, stable boys, grooms, walkers, paddock boys and ponyers. To a large extent these are not distinct groups, but are activities that take place at the race track. Thus any single individual may be involved in more than one of these activities in the course of a normal day. However, the activities are sufficiently distinct that it is useful to consider each activity as associated with a single group.

Trainers

The trainer is the central figure at any racing meet. He is the individual charged with the responsibility of preparing the horses for racing. Ultimately, all of the tasks associated with the preparation and performance of his horses are the responsibility of the trainer. This holds true whether the lack of preparation or the poor performance is directly attributable to the trainer or not. If a jockey rides a horse improperly and a horse races poorly, then it is the trainer's fault for selecting the jockey.

Although the trainer is an employee of the owner and, therefore, subservient to him, the trainer is seldom required to do anything he is opposed to doing. Indeed, when the relationship between the trainer and the owner comes to open conflict, it is the owner who is most likely to recant. This situation is not unusual at the race track; in fact, it is built into the very fabric of the social organization of horse racing.

The trainer's willingness to stand up to the owner regarding the handling of a horse - even if it means losing his employer's entire stable - is not a question of personal courage, but part of a structural feature of horse racing. (Scott, 1968: 47)

As Scott (1968) states, there are several reasons for the unique position of the trainer. First, there is the constant problem of supply and demand. The number of outstanding trainers is limited to a small portion of the racing community. Consequently, owners are always on the look out for established and successful trainers.

This is particularly the case at YA-WET-AG. Due to the small number of rich purses offered at YA-WET-AG, there are few trainers who could be considered among the elite of the occupation. In fact, most of the outstanding trainers are young men on their way up within the occupation. Consequently, when an owner finds an outstanding trainer, he is very likely to accept the trainer's advice without serious question.

It is not uncommon, for example, for a trainer to make the final decision about whether a horse is to be sold or not. Part of the explanation for the trainer's power in such matters stems

from his position with respect to the racing community. The trainer is much more likely to know the workings of the racing market place. If the trainer is in a position to sell a horse for a significant profit, then the owner usually goes along with the decision of the trainer.

A second reason for the unique position of the trainer stems from the problem of expertise. The significant quality that differentiates trainers is not in terms of training methods or knowledge of horses; instead, the better trainers know when to race each horse. The outstanding trainer is successful at placing his horses in the races where he will be the most successful. This type of knowledge is generally not accessible to the owner.

The significant difference in the skills of trainers lies not so much in their ability to get horses in condition for races, but in their ability to get horses in races where their animals will have an advantage unperceived by others, especially other trainers. This means that the crucial skill for success is the ability to control appearances and to break through the controls of others. In short, the racing game is played in terms of strategies of concealment and detection. (Scott, 1968: 49)

One of the leading trainers at YA-WET-AG was described in this manner:

It is not too hard to tell why ... [he] does well if you look at the statistics of his public stable during their fall campaign last year. From the time he moved from Denver to the 11-day state fair meeting in Albuquerque and on to Chicago he lost 15 horses by claims. Nobody likes to lose this many horses, but it proves that ... [he] runs them where they can win. Next to good care and conditioning, this has to be a trainer's concern. (Williams, 1971: 5)

Even with the built-in protections enjoyed by the trainers, the trainer is still subordinate to the owner and must take account of the power that the owner possesses. One way of dealing with this problem is by working for more than one owner at a time. A trainer may have a stable full of horses that are owned by several different people. Thus, if one owner becomes dissatisfied, the trainer still has several horses to race. The popularity of this approach is cited by Scott (1968) in the case of a trainer who had thirty horses owned by thirty different people.

The situation is the same at YA-WET-AG. It is not uncommon for a trainer to enter several races in one day with all of the entries being owned by different people. For example, on one day a trainer entered four races with horses owned by four different people. If one were to check this trainer's stable, several other horses owned by even more people would be found. It is not even unusual for one trainer to enter two horses in a single race with each horse being owned by a different person.

Although the trainers described above make up a significant portion of the racing population at YA-WET-AG, the great bulk of the horsemen at the racing meet own their own horses. The preponderance of owner-trainers at YA-WET-AG distinguishes it from the larger, more prestigious racing meets in other areas of the country. At the same time, the presence of a significant minority of professional trainers distinguishes it from the smaller racing meets which take place across the Midwest.

Owners

The dominant group of owners at YA-WET-AG are the owner-trainers. These men are involved in all aspects of horse racing and are, consequently, most committed to the racing way of life. A significant minority of the owners are people who own horses but are not actively involved in the training process.

Scott (1968) suggests that the owners can be classified into three groups: "shopkeepers," "speed boys," and "sportsmen." The "shopkeeper" is the small businessman who has purchased a horse for the excitement of being involved in the racing industry. Other than a possible involvement in the spectator and betting aspects of horse racing, the "shopkeeper" is usually without much knowledge about the actual workings of the horse racing business. The "shopkeeper" is considered a desirable type of owner to work for. Because he is ignorant of the techniques used in racing horses, the "shopkeeper" usually leaves the trainer alone.

A significant portion of the owners at YA-WET-AG are "shopkeepers." Although the members of this group are not characterized by high incomes, they seldom depend on their racing ventures to augment their incomes. Instead, most are content with the symbolic rewards of being owners. One "shopkeeper" at YA-WET-AG was a city employee. I had met him previously in his official capacity; at that time he spent a good deal of his time discussing the problems and advantages of being a horse owner. In fact, the ownership of a race horse was important enough to him that he continually reminded everyone of

his prized possession. Yet, when I met him again at the race track, he did not play a significant role in the training or racing of the horse. Occasionally he came to the track to exercise the horse and he usually walked the horse before it raced, but he made none of the significant decisions that concerned his investment. The training procedure, the selection of the jockey and the selection of races in which to enter the horse were all decisions made by the trainer.

The second type of owner described by Scott (1968) is the "speed boy." The "speed boy" is interested in owning a horse for the betting advantage it can give him. This type of owner is very active in the training of his possession, because his investment is more than symbolic.

To ensure a trainer's compliance and secrecy, speed boys attempt to attract the services of a one-stable trainer; they invest in at least a middle-sized stable and often give the trainer 50 per cent of the purses. The trainer so employed must be willing to take orders: when to scratch a horse, where to place a horse, what horses to buy, and even how the horse is to be trained. (Scott, 1968: 76)

Although there are owners of the "speed boy" type at YA-WET-AG, they do not form a substantial group. One indication of the presence of the "speed boy" is the horse that is capable of taking the lead in a race and maintaining it to the end (Scott, 1968). This type of horse is appealing to the "speed boy" because it can run closest to the rail, thus reducing the distance of the race, and it runs away from the pack where it might get bumped, injured or hemmed in so that it will not win. This is not the predominate

manner in which races are won at YA-WET-AG; instead, the winner is usually a horse that remains in the pack until the final stretch.

The third group of owners are the "sportsmen." The "sportsmen" are the elite of the racing industry, because they represent wealth. As Scott states:

Some owners are known as "lords of the turf"; their place in horse racing has been established by tradition. Others, with comparable racing establishments, represent new wealth. In either case, old wealth or new, they comprise the elite corps of racing owners - the sportsmen. The distinctions between old and new wealth to be found in certain locales in the parent society are maintained in the racing world. Thus sportsmen from old racing families are "lords of the turf," whereas new-wealth owners are often called "playboys." These differences, though invidious, are reflected in the public press. The Racing Form, for example, will refer to one owner as "one of the lords of the turf," and to another as "playboy owner Jones." (Scott, 1968: 76)

There are "lords of the turf" at YA-WET-AG, but the majority of the "sportsmen" are "playboys." In part, the emphasis stems from the location of the track in the Midwest. The older and more established "sportsmen" are more likely to be found in areas where the more prestigious racing meets are held. There is, however, an elitism associated with the racing meet at YA-WET-AG, which takes the form of ceremony that is used to demonstrate to social position of the "playboys."

The distinctions among the various owners of horses are significant, but the crucial distinction is not in terms of the intent of the horse owners. Instead, the most significant distinction is in terms of the involvement of the owners in the horse racing com-

munity. The owner-trainers, the majority of the owners at YA-WET-AG, are the most actively involved of the owners. Their commitment to horse racing involves more than just an economic investment; it also involves a commitment to the entire life style that is associated with horse racing. "Shopkeepers," on the other hand, are only committed to the business to the extent of the symbolic and economic rewards that are available. Consequently, they are capable of leaving horse racing with a minimum of conflict. Likewise, the "speed boys" are likely to leave the racing industry when their investment no longer pays off. Their commitment is strictly to the economic rewards that are attainable from owning and betting on their horses. The "sportsmen" are more committed than the "shopkeepers" and the "speed boys," but their commitment is based on a broader life style that extends beyond the racing of horses. Their primary commitment is to the life style of the socially elite and wealthy; they are concerned, as well, with horse racing only to the extent that it is part of the larger life style.

Although all of the owner groups are important in defining the nature of the race track, the owner-trainers are the most committed and involved in the industry. Consequently, they form the quantitative and qualitative center of the social organization of the race track and of this study.

Jockeys

Certainly, the best known group at a race track is the jockeys. They are on public display every time they race. Often, however,

the public does not realize that it takes more than small physical size for an individual to become a jockey. Although the only formal requirements for a potential jockey are being the appropriate size and finding a racing patron, usually a trainer, the real test comes after the jockey has found a patron and begins to learn the trade.

The initial phase of the training begins at the bottom of the racing ladder. Usually the new recruit is given the task of cleaning the stables or perhaps walking horses that have been exercised. Often the potential jockey does this for no salary. The significance of this period is as a test of the desire of the recruit to become a jockey. Scott gives this account of one trainer's justification for the training period:

If a boy is willing to travel 300 miles in the back of a van sleeping on piss-soaked straw, or if he wades through a stall full of shit at 5:30 every morning for no pay, you know he wants to be a jockey. (Scott, 1968: 28)

The condition of the new recruit's life is tempered by the anticipation of upward mobility in the future. Unlike others who work in the stables, he can look forward to a higher income and a higher social position within the racing community.

The second phase of the jockey's training begins when he is first taught to ride. Usually he starts by exercising horses during the early morning workout. It is during this phase of his training that the jockey receives the most instruction from his patron. The teacher is concerned with riding skill and with teaching the jockey the proper psychological qualities of the occupation.

Thus, the new jockey must learn to be cool under pressure. He must learn to ride the race as the trainer has planned it; often this means holding a horse back from the lead until the proper moment. Equally important is the asset of courage. The new jockey must learn to ride in a "crowd." He must be willing to ride in the middle of a pack of horses going at full speed, even at the risk of personal injury or death.

The official certification of the jockey takes place when he becomes officially designated as an apprentice. During this period the new jockey is allowed to ride in his first real competition. Few apprentices are given full jockey status until they have ridden at least three years and many do not reach that stage for five years.

Once the apprentice has demonstrated his ability in the apprenticeship period, he is fully accredited as a jockey and is free to negotiate for mounts. It is at this period in the jockey's development that he takes on an agent. It is the agent's job to find mounts for the jockey. For his services, the agent usually gets twenty per cent of the jockey's winnings.

The relationship between the jockey and the agent is usually close. There are two central reasons for this. First, the jockey is unlikely to hire anyone that he does not trust. In order to get good mounts the agent must be able to convince the trainers that his client is a good jockey. If the agent cannot do this, the jockey does not get hired. For this reason, many of the jockeys

use old friends or relatives as agents. In one case at YA-WET-AG, the jockey and his agent were brothers.

A second reason for the closeness of the jockey and the agent is for the emotional protection of the jockey. If the jockey is not getting mounts or is riding badly, it is the agent's job to listen to his troubles and help him solve the problem. Often this results in a union between the agent and the jockey that is more than a business arrangement. It also influences their self-conceptions. For example, the agent may come to see the jockey's success or failure as his own. Ainslie (1967: 6) states that it is not uncommon to hear an agent claim, "I'm getting nothing to ride these days but cripples," or "I was just nosed out on three mounts yesterday."

In many ways the jockey is the glamorous element of the horse racing industry. He is the one who rides the horse across the finish line. He is the person who is very likely to be photographed and be written about. A local newspaper, for example, runs a regular column during the racing season on the jockey of the week.

The jockey is also the most likely individual to be adjudged incorrectly by the public. It is not number of wins or the amount of money won that sets one jockey off from another; it is personal characteristics of the man that are important. How does he handle a horse in a pack? Is he afraid to take advantage of a small opening in the pack at the risk of injury to himself? Does he ride

each horse to its optimum capability? That is, do his mounts finish where they should or does he ride the top quality horses to wins and the others to last place finishes? A good jockey will finish third with a horse that is not better than third. These are significant criteria for differentiating jockeys for the horsemen.

Gallopers

The gallopers are those people who exercise the horses by galloping them around the track during the morning workout. The minimal requirements for being a galloper are very similar to the minimal requirements for being a jockey. First, the galloper must be light of weight; no galloper should weigh more than one hundred and thirty pounds. Secondly, a galloper must be an accomplished rider capable of racing a horse at top speed. Thirdly, the galloper should be knowledgeable about the types and nature of injuries that characterize race horses. Many trainers gallop their horses both for the necessary exercise and to detect injuries. An accomplished galloper can detect many injuries during the gallop.

Due to the weight limitations and the riding skills required for a galloper, most gallopers are young men in their late teens or early twenties, and a few are women. One of the best gallopers at YA-WET-AG was a middle-aged woman who has spent her entire life around the track. Not only did she possess the necessary riding skills, but she was recognized as one of the most knowledgeable at detecting injuries and training young horses.

Stable Boys

The members of this group have the unenviable task of cleaning the horse stalls and providing for the feeding and watering of the animals. In any real sense, stable boys do not exist as a distinct group; usually they are involved in many jobs with the tasks of the stable boy being only one. Secondly, many of the people who work as stable boys are young, but upwardly mobile people. As stated earlier, most jockeys go through a period of working as stable boys. Many who aspire to become trainers also begin as stable boys. Others who work as stable boys are cleaning stables in the interim between other jobs. For example, a galloper may find that he has to wait for an opening at a stable and he might take a job as a stable boy while he waits. Other stable boys are local people, particularly high school students, who work only during the YA-WET-AG meet and do not move on when the meet ends

Grooms

A skilled groom is considered a necessity at most stables. The groom must not know only how to properly brush a horse, but he is expected to find any injuries that may have occurred during the morning workout or injuries that have gone undetected.

One day I was discussing the types of employment available at the track with a young trainer. I mentioned the possibility of me becoming a groom. He laughed and told me that no one with a horse worth any value would let me close to their property without me knowing a great deal more about horses than I do.

Like the stable boys, grooms are often involved in other activities around the track. Sometimes they combine their grooming tasks with cleaning stables or galloping the horses. In the small stables the groom is very likely to be the owner-trainer.

Walkers

One of the most pervasive aspects of the track is the walking of the horses. The people who walk horses are known as hot walkers or, simply, walkers. The purpose of walking the horse is to cool it down slowly after it has been exercised. At other times, walkers are used to exercise injured horses or to detect suspected injuries. As in the other groups mentioned, there are many who walk horses, but also have other jobs around the track.

Of significant importance to the life of the walker is the development of a machine that does the same job. It looks very much like a schoolyard merry-go-round that is set up about five feet above the ground. The horses are attached to the machine and an electric motor turns the entire apparatus. The horses are left to follow the automatic walker until they have cooled down from the morning workout.

Paddock Boys

On the day that a horse is to race, there are several other groups that become involved. The paddock boys form one such group. The paddock boys are those people who take the horses to the paddock area where the horses are prepared for the race. The preparation

consists of saddling the horses and walking them until the jockey mounts the horse for the race.

The paddock boys generally have other jobs and use the paddock jobs to supplement their incomes. For other paddock boys, the job of bringing the horses to the paddock is part of their entire job with the stable. In this case they receive no compensation. As such, there is not a distinct group of paddock boys. This group exists only as a number of individuals performing the same task.

Ponyers

Once the horse steps onto the track, a new group takes over-- the ponyers. The ponyers lead the horses to the starting gate. Again, this group is not distinct. Most of the ponyers have other jobs at the track. In other cases, the ponyer is an employee of a stable, or he may even be the trainer himself.

The actions and activities of these groups represent the stream of action of the race track (Warriner, 1970). It is within the context of these groups and their activities that the work of the race track gets done and the social organization of the track emerges. It is these activities that make the race track unique from other organizations.

So far, however, I have considered the actions and activities of only some of the human beings who inhabit YA-WET-AG. Indeed, they are centrally important in defining the atmosphere of the track and in giving content and form to the social organization. But the participants who are most central to the maintenance of

the horse racing industry are the horses that do the racing. These animals are ultimately the source for bringing the audience to the track, and it is their performances that will be the central factor in whether or not the racing meet is a success or failure. Therefore, the thoroughbred horses that race at YA-WET-AG are legitimate actors and represent legitimate participants in the milieu of the track.

Horses as Actors

The first requirement for horses to perform at YA-WET-AG is that they be thoroughbreds. As with many systems of classification, the term thoroughbred is a socially derived definition growing out of American horse racing and the larger American society. Generally, however,

To be an American thoroughbred, a horse must be listed in the American Stud Book, first published in 1868; to be registered as a thoroughbred in the American book, a horse must be able to trace his ancestors for at least six generations of sires and five of dams who have been registered. (Scott, 1968: 13-14)*

A second requirement for the entry of horses at YA-WET-AG is that they be worth two thousand dollars. The evaluation of each horse is left up to the trainers. Thus, if a trainer feels his horse can compete, he is allowed to enter it. Most horsemen are fairly accurate in their assessments of their stock and are not likely to enter animals that are not worth two thousand dollars. One horseman, for example, owned a stable only a few blocks from

*The sire is the father of the horse and the dam is the mother.

the race track, but he did not race any of his horses, because he felt that they were not worth two thousand dollars and would not compete effectively.

As with other actors, the horses are primarily judged in terms of their performances. The judging of the horses is, however, not just in terms of success, but in terms of the special types of performance in which the horses are primarily engaged. The distinctions among the horses are based on the length of the races in which they are most successful and the quality of the races entered.

The Length of the Performance

For the horsemen, there are two types of horse races which are based on the distance required. One type of race is the short, sprint race. Usually a sprint race is for no more than six furlongs, the equivalent of three-fourths of a mile. The major requirement of horses entered in sprint races is speed; the horse must start quickly and maintain a top speed for the entire race. Often, the entries in sprint races are young horses that do not have the stamina to run for longer distances. These are, also, the horses that are most likely to be owned by the "speed boys" (Scott, 1968).

The second type of race is the route race, any race that is a mile or more. The requirements for the horses entered in route races are more demanding. The horse must, first, possess a great deal of stamina, because the horse is usually required to run at a fairly fast pace throughout the entire race. Secondly, the horse must possess speed. The deciding factor in most route races is the

amount of speed that the horse has at the end of the race. The usual strategy is to hold the horse back in the pack until near the end of the race; then it is expected to finish with a quick burst of speed. The route races are the most challenging for the trainer because the length of the race requires that he devise a strategy. Also, the route races are challenging because of the unpredictability of the outcome; while the horse is being held within the pack, any number of possible factors could alter the horse's chances for winning. The horse could be bumped, pushed or in some other way thrown enough off stride to lose the race. On the whole, however, a good route horse is considered a better animal than a good sprint horse.

The Quality of the Performance

There are a number of types of races that are available at the racing meet. Each type varies with the quality of the animals entered, as well as the amount of the purse offered. A second way of classifying the horses is, then, in terms of the types of races in which they are entered.

Claiming Races

The bulk of the races at any racing meet are claiming races. Scott (1968) estimates that they form seventy-five per cent of all of the races. Claiming races vary in length, but they usually involve the lowest quality and more mediocre horses at a racing meet. The distinguishing feature of the claiming race is that each horse

is potentially for sale. That is, the track officials designate a specific price for each of the claiming races; anyone who wants to buy a horse can do so by paying the designated price.

In \$2,000 claiming races, any horse can be bought for \$2,000; in \$5,000 claiming races, \$5,000, and so on. Before the race, the person wishing to make a claim fills out a form and presents it to one of the officials, designating his intention to claim a certain animal. He must accompany this with cash or a certified check. If more than one owner submits an intention-to-claim, dice are thrown to determine who gets the horse. As soon as the horses step onto the track for the race, the claimed horse belongs to the new owner, though any part of the purse the horse wins goes to the former owner. If the horse should die on the track, the new owner must pay for carting away the animal. (Scott, 1968: 15)*

The standard agreement at YA-WET-AG is that the person who claims a horse must race it again at a higher claiming race. This gives the original owner the chance to repurchase the animal, if he so desires.

Allowance Races

The entries in the allowance races are usually of higher quality than the entries in the claiming races, but the significant distinction between the two types of races is the matter of weight carried by the horses. In allowance races, each horse is assigned a specific weight to carry; this is not the case in claiming races.

*Scott claims that racing meets can be classified according to the lowest claiming price allowed. The best tracks require at least three thousand dollars for a claiming race, the middle-level tracks require two thousand dollars, and the lowest level require one thousand dollars. According to this system of classification, YA-WET-AG is a middle-level track.

Thus, a superior animal will carry more weight than an inferior animal. Here is a typical example from the YA-WET-AG program:

Purse \$5,500. Four-Year-Olds and upward, non-winners of \$1,850 twice in 1970-1971. (Maiden, optional, starter or claiming races not considered in eligibility or allowances.) 122 lbs. Non-winners of \$2,500 in 1971 allowed 3 lbs.; \$2,500 in 1970 or two races in 1971, 5 lbs.; \$1,800 in 1971 or two races since September 7, 8 lbs.; \$1,500 in 1971 or a race since September 7, 10 lbs.*

Handicap Races

The entries in the handicap races are usually of higher quality than the entries in the allowance races, but, again, the significant factor is the assigning of weight to the entries. The object of assigning weight in the handicap races is to create a situation where all of the participants finish together. Again, the superior horse is given the greatest weight and the inferior horse is given the least weight to carry. In one race at YA-WET-AG, the assigned weights ranged from one hundred and seven pounds to one hundred and twenty pounds. Another significant aspect of the handicap races is that they are usually associated with large purses. The race just described was run for a purse of fifteen thousand dollars. Consequently, the weighting of each entry is extremely important.

*This means that the entries are running for a purse of \$5,500, and the race is restricted to horses that are four years old or older that have lost at least two races worth \$1,850 sometime during the 1970 or 1971 racing seasons. The base weight that each entry is assigned to carry is 122 pounds. The base weight is not an absolute; rather it is a standard from which exceptions are drawn. For example, those entries that have lost a \$2,500 race during the 1971 season are assigned three pounds less than the base weight, or 119 pounds.

Stakes Races

The stakes races are distinguished from the previously mentioned races by two factors: all entries carry the same weight and the owner of each horse is charged for entering his horse. The only differential weighting that takes place in a stakes race is between male and female horses. Usually female horses are required to carry from three to five pounds less than the male entries.

A significant distinction between the stakes races and other races is the cost of entering the stakes races. First, there is a nomination fee which serves only to have the horse's name put on the list of potential entries. If the horse is selected to run in the race, there is an additional fee known as a "starting fee." The money that is collected in this manner is added to the original value of the purse. Here is an example of a YA-WET-AG stakes race with an original purse of seven thousand, five hundred dollars:

By subscription of \$50 each which shall accompany the nomination; \$150 to pass the entry box; starters to pay \$100 additional with \$7,500 added.*

Maiden Races

Maiden races involve only those horses that have never won a

*This means that the owners have paid \$50 to have their horses nominated for the race and have paid an additional \$150 to have their horses' names placed in the entry box. Of the horses selected for the race, each owner must pay an additional \$100 for the horse to start the race. The track officials then add \$7,500 to the amounts mentioned above to make up the total purse for the race. The amount of the purse is variable, depending on the number of nominations placed in the entry box and the number of starters selected.

race; this includes both male and female horses. Often the entries are young horses that are just being taught to race, and are usually the two year olds. Due to the young age of the horses, these races are characterized by an unpredictability that is greater than any of the other races.

Classification of the Horses

Race horses are usually classified in terms of the length of the races in which they perform best and the quality of the races in which they compete. Unlike trainers, horses are not judged in terms of the amount of money that they win, nor are they judged strictly in terms of speed. A good horse will win its race.

Horsemen explain this phenomenon by viewing class as the ability of the horse to look another in the eye and run the other into the ground. Class, then, is conceived as the comparative dominance of horses: a horse with higher class will run as fast as necessary to beat a horse with lower class. The reason this does not happen every time is because of those factors that are not equal, such as the amount of weight that a horse carries. (Scott, 1968: 19-20)

Conclusion

The world of horse racing is a world of actors and performances each of which has implications for the larger social organization. The implications are greatest, however, for three groups and the performances associated with them. Certainly, at the core of the racing business is the race horse whose performance is vital to the success of both the individual trainer or owner and the larger world of horse racing. In a very real sense, the world of horse racing is centered around the preparation of the horse for its performance.

The second central group is that of the jockeys. The riding of the horses is obviously vital, but an equally important factor in defining the position of the jockey is the relative scarcity of people who possess his qualities. The height and weight requirements eliminate most men from the occupation of jockey; no jockey should weigh more than one hundred and twenty pounds. Secondly, the long period of apprenticeship eliminates those who are not willing to make the sacrifices demanded by the patrons. Finally, the expertise required of a jockey can only be acquired from people already involved in horse racing. Many who aspire to become jockeys are not able to find people who are willing to teach them the trade.*

The third central group of performers is the trainers. The trainer's position, ultimately, rests with his expertise; the most important asset a trainer possesses is the ability to pick the proper races for his horses. It is the trainer's knowledge of horse racing that sets him apart from the other groups at the track. Indeed, it is expertise that differentiates one trainer from another.

We move now to consider how actors and their activities, which we have just reviewed, are combined and modified to create a social organization that is larger than the individual parts that make it up.

*This situation may be changing with the development of schools for training jockeys. However, the bulk of the young jockeys and apprentice jockeys at YA-WET-AG were trained through the traditional system.

CHAPTER IV: THE RACE TRACK AS A SOCIAL WHOLE

The combination of actors and activities within a social situation is the source for all social organization. The resultant organization is more than the sum of the parts; indeed, it is a new social arrangement with implications that go far beyond the sphere of any single actor. It is a social reality that cannot be grasped by knowing only the parts of the whole.

The more behavioral scientists out on the one side of our position will provide us with precise and explicit understanding of certain parts of our whole, but in doing so they will depart from the whole. Nor will they, in their own terms, restore it to us. When they get far along with their development of competent, precise, abstract, and general propositions, I shall join in the general rejoicing. But I do not think it will be possible to get back to the human wholes from those propositions. As Weber said, concrete reality cannot "be deduced from 'laws' and 'factors.'" (Redfield, 1967: 59)

As Warriner (1970) has claimed, society and social organization can be viewed as a stream of action. Although individual unit acts can be abstractly selected from the larger stream and examined as a whole, the ultimate reality of the society or organization consists in the entire stream of action, including the interdependencies of all of the individual unit acts.

Society, as separate from culture and from personality, is defined by the existence of articulated social action. If we are to study society we must be able to describe these acts and their articulation and their relationship to the actors-in-positions who perform them. (Warriner, 1970: 142)

One way of grasping the race track as a whole is by observing the order and manner in which specific actors go about their tasks. Thus, the daily round of activities is a significant source for the understanding of social organization.

The Daily Round

The working day of the horsemen begins early in the morning when the track is opened for the exercising of the horses; this period lasts from 5:00 to 10:00 a.m. The nature and degree of exercise each horse receives varies with the amount of time since it last raced and its next scheduled race.

The actual procedure of exercising the horses is very much like the training procedure of baseball pitchers. The day after a pitcher has started a game, he does very little in the way of exercising his arm. Instead, he spends most of his time running to keep his legs in shape. The second day he throws the ball enough to loosen up his arm, perhaps the equivalent of two or three innings. On the third day the pitcher concentrates on throwing and exercising his arm. He may throw the equivalent of five innings in preparation for his pitching start on the fourth day.

The reason for this procedure for baseball pitchers stems from the nature of throwing a baseball. The act of pitching over an extended period of time breaks down the arm and it takes about three days to build it up again. The same principle applies to horses. The extreme amount of effort extended by a horse in a race

breaks down the leg and shoulder muscles which are crucial to running. The training procedure is a process of building those muscles back to their original condition. Consequently, the first day or two after the horse has raced is spent walking the animal. As time progresses, the horse is expected to exert more and more effort in the practice sessions. Ideally, the horse should need no more than one week to get ready for the next race.

After the horse has been exercised, it is taken to the barn where it is washed down and groomed. This process helps to cool the horse from the exercise and relax the extended muscles of the legs and shoulders. Lastly, the horse is walked for about twenty to thirty minutes, or until it has completely recovered from the exercise period.

In many ways the routine just discussed is an ideal that is approached by the horsemen but never fully realized. Particularly, the less affluent horsemen are limited in achieving the ideal procedure by the the high costs of horse racing.

The going rate for a galloper at YA-WET-AG is three dollars for each horse. Full-time grooms command a salary of one hundred twenty-five dollars a week. Full-time walkers receive about ninety dollars each week. In addition to these regular expenses are the special expenses involved in the actual racing of the horses. Paddock boys charge five dollars, while ponyers receive ten dollars for their services. The most expensive group, however, is the jockeys. They receive thirty dollars even if the horse finishes

last. The better the horse performs, the higher the jockey's fees, ranging up to ten per cent of the winnings for riding a winner.

Coupled with the expenses directly related to the training and racing of the horses are the costs involved in having the horse shod. Most blacksmiths at YA-WET-AG charge from nineteen to twenty-five dollars, depending on the quality and type of horse shoes desired. This service is needed every four or five weeks. Furthermore, the horses often require medical treatment. By state law many of the medications must be given by a registered veterinarian, although many horsemen feel this is unfair. One horseman told me that it would cost him fifty cents for the drug and twelve cents for the syringe, if he were to give the medication himself. The veterinarian, however, charged five dollars for giving the same medication.

The expenses increase for the owners of winning horses. There is a one per cent deduction from the winner's share that goes to the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protection Association.* Three per cent of the winning purse goes to the breeder of the horse. In many cases, the breeder is also the owner, but in many cases he is not.

*The Horsemen's Benevolent and Protection Association is somewhat like a labor union. It is the job of the association to look after the interests of the horsemen; this includes negotiating contracts with the track. One of the problems with the association is that it does not always meet the needs of all of the horsemen equally. For example, the one per cent fee deducted from the winners is limited to a maximum of twenty-five dollars. It is the more affluent horsemen who are most likely to win purses of more than twenty-five hundred dollars.

In an effort to ease some of the expenses of horse racing, the track pays on all horses that finish in sixth place or better. The winnings from each race range from fifty-five per cent for the winner to three per cent for sixth place. The small owner-trainers, however, find this to be less than adequate compensation. Because few of the less affluent owner-trainers own horses of high quality, they must enter races offering the smaller purses. A sixth place finish in a two thousand dollar claiming race is worth sixty dollars. After paying the jockey, ponyer and paddock boy, the horseman receives fifteen dollars for his entry.

If the small owner-trainer employs all of the groups that are associated with the track, he is not likely to make much money. Consequently, many of this group develop variations on the standardized daily round to save money. The modifications which take place during various segments of the daily round give the social organization of the race track its complexity of content and multiplicity of forms.

Variations on the Daily Round

There are three general ways in which the horsemen deal with the problem of expenses, and, ultimately, alter the nature of the daily round of activity. The first approach is for the trainer to assume most of the roles associated with preparing the horse; thus, he acts as a trainer, groom, galloper, walker and paddock boy. In most cases, these trainers are also the owners of the horses.

The greatest area of limitation for this type of procedure is

the problem of galloping the horse. Most gallopers weigh less than one hundred and thirty pounds, but few of the horsemen meet this requirement. A common solution to this problem is to pony, rather than gallop, the horses. Ponying is simply the exercising of the horses by leading them while the trainer is riding another horse. The significant disadvantage of ponying is that the horse does not get a chance to extend itself, because the leading horse is seldom a thoroughbred. Furthermore, the horse is trained without a rider and saddle; consequently, the horse may be at a disadvantage in the race.

It is the least affluent of the horsemen who utilize ponying to train their horses. Because the disadvantages of ponying a horse, rather than galloping it, are significant, the more affluent are not likely to use this procedure. Also, the trainer who assumes the tasks of the groom, walker and galloper has little time for other activities. This is not a serious handicap for the trainer of a few horses, but the trainers associated with large stables simply do not have enough time to accomplish all of these tasks; consequently, they are the least likely group to use this procedure.

The practice of taking on several of the jobs does not, however, solve the economic problem in its entirety. The owner-trainer must still pay the jockey, the feed bill, and the rent on the stable. This procedure does, however, eliminate many of the expenses of the less affluent horsemen, and, therefore, is a relatively common approach for them.

A second way of dealing with the problem of expenses is to find members of each group who are willing to work for less than the standard fee. Often these trainers hire part-time workers. For example, a part-time walker usually gets six dollars a day, which is substantially less than the nearly thirteen dollars a day required by the full-time walkers. Young gallopers are a second source of savings. Many young gallopers are willing to take less than the prevailing fee in exchange for the chance to get experience.

Some trainers further extend this approach of using part-time workers by exercising their horses only half as often. The belief is that if a horse is worked half as often at twice the normal distance, the horse gets the same amount of exercise. In actuality, the horse does not get a comparable amount of exercise and the limitation is evident in its racing performance. Usually the use of this technique by a trainer is taken as an indicator of his precarious financial position although, as one horseman said, "You gotta do something, even if it's wrong."

Occasionally, the less affluent horsemen are able to find members of the various groups, gallopers, walkers, etc., who are willing to maintain two price scales: a regular price scale for the more affluent trainers and a reduced scale for the less affluent. This is not very popular among the group members, i.e., walkers, gallopers, etc., but as the racing meet progresses, it becomes more common.

I once asked a horseman how the various people who depend on

the track for a living are able to maintain a consistent wage scale. Why didn't the members underbid the prevailing price in order to increase their volume of business? He claimed that if someone undercut the established prices, "he would be taken care of."

He claimed, for example, that jockeys who agree to wages that are less than the established rate are "ridden into the rail." This is a practice of forcing the jockey and his horse over the rail during the race. It is difficult to detect, because it occurs in the midst of the race. Such a treatment, however, can easily result in very serious physical damage to the jockey and the horse.

The jockeys are the least likely group to maintain two price scales, however, because they are protected by the Jockeys' Guild which operates much like the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protection Association. It is the other groups that depend upon the racing industry that are most likely to undercut the prevailing prices. The accepted procedure for dealing with these offenders is to physically assault them. I know of no instance, however, when this procedure was used at YA-WET-AG; in part, the absence of this procedure is a result of a change in attitude among the racing community.

As the racing meet progresses the attitudes of many members of the racing community become divided. Many find that the smaller stables cannot employ them if they continue to ask the prevailing price. This becomes a source of controversy and, in a sense, polarizes the members of the various occupational groups.

One side felt that it was acceptable to lower the price for the smaller stables; otherwise, they would lose an important source of income. They argued that it was not fair to expect a man who is losing money to pay the same rate as those who are winning the big purses. Others felt it was not right to maintain two price scales. Even the most vehement, however, became less so as the meet progressed. Many complained that they were being "nickled and dimed to death," but no one openly suggested "taking care of" the violators.

One of those persons most opposed to the price cuts changed from a belief that violators should be beaten up to one that those who undercut the prevailing prices should be exposed. He argued that "a good trainer wouldn't let anything less than a ten-dollar ponyer touch his horse."

The third, and most prevalent, method used for saving on racing costs is to hire one person to perform many tasks. Thus, the trainer and employee combine their efforts to accomplish the tasks usually done by several groups. Often the person hired is a young horseman who is learning the trade and is susceptible to manipulation and exploitation by the trainer. Although they are not always manipulated or exploited, the case of Karen is illustrative of what often happens to the novice in the horse racing business.

The Case of Karen

Karen started as a galloper at a small stable in the Midwest. Her employer refused to pay her, claiming that what he was teaching her about galloping was worth more than what he was receiving from

her services. After acquiring sufficient knowledge and experience, Karen quit and free-lanced as a galloper at several small race tracks in the area. When the races at YA-WET-AG began, she took a job with one of the stables competing there. Knowing that the trainer had a small income, and realizing her inexperience, Karen agreed to gallop the trainer's horses for less than the prevailing rate.

Karen, however, had a horse of her own which needed stabling and feeding. She made a second agreement with the trainer to stable and feed her horse at a predetermined price per week with the understanding that he was free to use the horse for his purposes at no charge. She found that the expenses for stabling and feeding her horse were equal to the income she received from galloping. Consequently, Karen was forced to seek additional work as a stable cleaner to meet her living expenses.

At the time I knew her, Karen was galloping horses and cleaning stables each morning in order to make thirty-nine dollars a week, that is, thirty-nine dollars before income and social security taxes were taken out. The last time I talked to her, Karen had been offered a galloping job at another stable. She felt, however, that if she accepted the job, she would most likely end up in a similar situation with her new employer.

Costs and Social Organization

The result of the use of the various practices to minimize the costs of horse racing in the daily round of activity and organization has multiple forms. The central theme running through the activities

of all the horsemen is the fact that specific tasks must be accomplished in order to prepare the horses to race. These tasks must be accomplished whether a one-man-stable or whether a large number of people are involved.

The emphasis on horse-related tasks points to one of the most significant orientations of the race track--the social organization of the race track is horse-centered. The majority of the groups and activities found at the track are directly related to the preparation and racing of the horses.

At the same time, the racing community is made up of human beings with problems that are distinct from those of the horses. The recurring problems and events of racing men are handled in a standardized and orderly manner, just as the horse-related problems are handled. It is through the standardized and shared orientations of the horsemen that the content of the racing community is expressed.

Standardized Orientations

As with all groups and communities, the people who make up the racing community must deal with certain recurrent problems and events that result from the satisfaction of the physical, psychological, and social needs of the members. The manner in which these needs are met is not haphazard nor completely open to individual discretion. Instead, the recurrent needs of the members are met in an orderly and predictable manner. The result is the attachment of commonly accepted, social meanings to articulation of individual human action. Although the sources of the accepted meanings may not be

understood by all the horsemen, the meanings have implications which influence the lives of each member of the community.

As Kluckhohn has pointed out,

The members of all human societies face some of the same unavoidable dilemmas posed by biology and other facts of the human situation. This is why the basic categories of all cultures are so similar. Human culture without language is unthinkable. No culture fails to provide for aesthetic expression and aesthetic delight. Every culture supplies standardized orientations toward the deeper problems, such as death. Every culture is designed to perpetuate the group and its solidarity, to meet the demands of individuals for an orderly way of life and for satisfaction of biological needs. (Kluckhohn, 1949: 24-25)

As with all American horse racing, the horsemen at YA-WET-AG are influenced by the larger American culture. The activities and meanings attached to the activities are consistent with the larger cultural context; at the same time, conditions of the racing industry encourage the modification of the dominate cultural practices and the development of new ways of handling recurrent events and problems. In other words, horse racing is more than an occupation; it is a subculture that is both a part of the larger American culture and distinct from it.

Some of the subcultural dimensions of horse racing have already been discussed and others will be discussed in later chapters. There are, however, three areas of racing life which are both important in terms of the individual horsemen's lives and indicative of the place of the racing subculture within the larger culture. These are the jargon of the horsemen, attitudes toward marriage, and treatment of death.

Racing Jargon

Perhaps, the most obvious distinctive element of any culture or subculture is language. Aside from the obvious function of providing for communication, language is an indicator of how people classify and order the objects that make up their world. As Strauss states,

Any group of people that has any permanence develops a "special language," a lingo or jargon, which represents its way of identifying those objects important for group action. Waitresses classify types of customers and other workers in the restaurant, give shorthand names to foods, and have special signs and gestures standing for important activities. So do criminals; and even ministers are not immune from the necessity of classifying their clientele and colleagues, otherwise how could they organize activity in an orderly and sensible manner? (Strauss, 1959: 21)

For the members of the racing subculture the jargon of the track serves four central functions. First, it is a type of shorthand for facilitation communication. It is easier, for example, to say "gyping,"* rather than the act of exercising a horse by having it run in a circle around the trainer who is controlling the horse with a rope. Or it is easier to say "wheeling," than it is to say the practice of betting on one horse to win the first race of a daily double and betting on all of the horses in the second race to win.

The significant difference between the shorthand function of

*Pronounced "jeep-ing."

racing jargon and the other functions is that the shorthand words are usually publicly known. These words are understood and used by both the horsemen and the betting patrons. The function of such words is clearly for the purposes of efficiency in communication.

The second function of the racing jargon is for the classification of persons, objects and events. The horse that wins consistently is said to have "heart," whereas other horses are classified as "quitters," "morning glories," or "chicken shits" (Scott, 1968). The girls who work in or around the stables are known as "trackers." Some of them are noted for their promiscuous sexual relations with the horsemen; in this case, the speaker changes the tone of his voice when he says "tracker," and, thereby indicates both the girl's occupational and sexual activities.

Although members of the general public are often aware of the classificatory words, they are not fully aware of the implications of the classifications. They do not know when and how the words are properly used and, furthermore, that the significant criteria for the classification are seldom available to them. For example, few members of the nonracing public realize that the distinction between a horse with "heart" and a "quitter" is in the amount of weight that the horse can carry. Instead, the public classification is primarily in terms of the speed of the horse.

The third function of the racing jargon is that it sets the horsemen apart from the public. The horsemen know when and how specific words are to be used; the public does not. The average

racing fan sees a race horse as a horse, or if he makes any differentiation it is between a male and female. The horsemen, however, have a much more detailed system of classification. Here is an example from a pamphlet published by YA-WET-AG:

Literally, a horse is a male 5 years or older. A female 5 years or older is called a mare. Between the ages of 2 and 5, a male is called a colt, and a female a filly. Between its first and second birthdays, a thoroughbred is called a yearling. From birth to its first birthday, it's called a foal. Sire and dam are the terms for male and female parents, respectively, and gelding is the term for a castrated male of any age.

These distinctions are not important to the general public, but they are important to the horsemen. It is distinctions such as those which are used by the horsemen to evaluate other participants. A man who knows and uses the proper distinctions for the various horses is viewed as a part of the community, and those who do not know the proper language are treated as outsiders.

The fourth function of the racing language is as an indicator of self-image. A significant part of the training period is learning the terminology of the business. Thus, the individual who has successfully learned the techniques of his job and the values associated with that job, will also know the language of the track. Indeed, the language will become a part of him and of his definition of himself. In this way, the language of the racing subculture is an indicator of the individual's self-image.

The four functions of racing language are not unique to the horse racing culture; they are present in varying degrees in most

subcultures. The importance of subcultural jargon consists in the fact that it symbolizes one source of human knowledge, social knowledge (Cooley, 1926). As Cooley states, social knowledge

... is developed from contact with the minds of other men, through communication, which sets going a process of thought and sentiment similar to theirs and enables us to understand them by sharing their states of mind. (Cooley, 1926: 60)

There are, however, other aspects of the racing subculture that distinguish it from other groups. One is the manner in which marriage and family are treated.

Marriage

Sirjamaki (1948) claims that one of the significant and distinctive aspects of American culture is the emphasis placed on the appropriateness of marriage. Indeed, he claims that marriage is one of the most important goals in the lives of both American men and women, because it is viewed as the state in which adult happiness is greatest.

The emphasis on the institution of marriage pervades almost every group in American society. Liebow (1967), for example, has found that the desire for marriage is extensive among the young, black men that he studied in Washington, D.C. They viewed marriage as a mandatory act to gain manhood; in other words, marriage is often a rite of passage into adulthood.

The members of the racing subculture do not seem to share this view. Manhood can be achieved in other ways such as through the accumulation of money or through the demonstration of other skills.

In part, the racing orientation to marriage is due to the transient nature of the occupation. It is difficult to establish a permanent relation with another person when the individual is constantly moving from city to city.*

A second reason for the lack of emphasis on marriage stems from problems of maintaining a wife and family while remaining in the racing business. The demands of the racing industry are extensive and often conflict with the needs and demands of the family. Consequently, many of the horsemen are divorced and others have family lives that are unhappy and characterized by conflict. When I told one horseman that I was getting married, his reply was "Why?" There were no comments of congratulation or wishes of good luck; instead, I found myself having to justify my actions.

At the same time, marriages do take place in the racing community. Usually, the marriages are between a horseman and his girl back home, but occasionally a marriage takes place between two members of the racing community. When this takes place, the marriage becomes a communal affair, but not of the same sort as in other parts of American culture.

The communal orientation to the marriage is not a ritualized period showing community support; instead, the ritual takes the form of pranks. I was told, for example, not to drink anything around the horsemen I knew best, because it was a popular practice to

*This will be further elaborated in a later chapter.

secretly give the bridegroom a breeding hormone given to horses. On a normal horse the hormone will cause the male to have an erection for forty-eight hours. As one horseman told me, it "does bad things to humans."

One source for the racing orientation to marriage stems from the predominately male population of the racing community. It is not unusual for male friends of the groom to play tricks on him, although most horsemen do not go as far as others in this respect. A second reason for the prankster orientation is based on the transient nature of the occupation. Few racing meets last a sufficient amount of time for the horsemen to develop deep and extended friendship relations. Instead, they are tied together by common occupational bonds and the values of the subculture. Consequently, the marriage of one or two members is not as important to the horsemen as it is in other, more stable groups.

One area, then, in which the subculture of the race track differs from the prevailing culture surrounds the values and practices associated with marriage. At the same time, the values associated with marriage are not antithetical to the prevailing values; the differences are significant, but not inconsistent to the point that the horsemen are defined as significantly deviant. Similarly, the values and practices that are made manifest with the death of a member of the subculture are indicative of the place of the horsemen in American Society.

Death

As Kluckhohn (1949) has stated, death is a universal problem for all human groupings. Both Waugh (1948) and Mitford (1963) have discussed the distinctive American approach to death. Indeed, it is the way in which death is perceived and handled that often sets one culture apart from others. The American approach to death is a series of elaborate rituals which culminate in the burial. Mitford claims that future generations of social scientists may use the burial rituals as a basis for evaluating our society, and,

They might rashly conclude that twentieth-century America was a nation of abjectly imitative conformists, devoted to machine-made gadgetry and mass-produced art of a debased quality; that its dominant theology was a weird mixture of primitive superstitions, superficial attitudes towards death, overlaid with a distinct tendency towards necrophilism.... (Mitford, 1963: 150)

The subculture of racing is somewhat different from the dominant cultural approach to death and aging. For example, there are few horsemen who are sent to institutions for the aged and dying. This is different from the prevailing American culture pattern described by Markson in her study.

These findings tend to confirm the idea put forward by a number of students of death that the old are sent to lower status institutions, particularly mental hospitals, to die. (Markson, 1971: 49)

In part, the difference in the racing orientation to death stems from the de-emphasis on retirement that characterizes the subculture. In fact, many of the horsemen are well beyond retirement age; one horseman, for example, entered the racing business

after having retired from a career as a construction worker. The communal orientation to retirement is best summarized by this statement from one of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG.

"When a man slows down, he rusts and when he retires, he destroys himself.: (Daily Racing Form, 1971: 6)

This attitude is reflected in the way the horsemen deal with serious illness and injuries. The general pattern is to ignore the problem and continue to work. One horseman's approach to such problems was described in this manner:

Even when he was ailing in his later years, he refused to take things easy. One fall at Hazel Park he was taken to the hospital with what one doctor called "a heart attack," but a week later ... was out at the track bidding on horses in a paddock sale on a cold, raw day. "We had to let him out of the hospital," the doctor said. "We simply couldn't keep him still. The phone was ringing all the time and he was training his horses from that hospital bed." (Observer, 1971: 5)

Obviously, the horsemen are not immune from the problems of death, but their approach to handling it is somewhat different from other groups. The most important aspect of the racing approach is its flexibility; some deaths are treated with a great deal of ceremony and others are defined as situations of financial need and are treated accordingly. The deaths of two horsemen during the 1971 YA-WET-AG meet are illustrative of this point.

The first horseman to die during the meet was one of the leading owner-trainers in the nation. Although his death was not totally unexpected--he was seventy-five years of age and had suffered from several serious physical problems--the significant factor in the treatment of his death was the man's position within the occupation.

His death was recorded in the local newspaper and a national racing publication with lengthy accounts of his racing career and successes. The racing meet was altered during the few days after his death; the high point of the track ceremony was when a riderless horse was led around the track while the announcer read the horseman's long list of successes.

The second horseman to die at YA-WET-AG was a middle-aged owner-trainer. He was killed in a training accident, kicked in the head by a horse. The significant difference between the two horsemen was in terms of the financial position of the two men. The second horseman to die was not affluent and, therefore, was not accorded the same treatment. The local newspaper ran a short account of his death, while the national racing publication made no mention of it. Similarly, the horsemen treated the second death differently from the first.

The horsemen defined the second death as a situation of financial need and not of public ceremony. The result of the definition was to help the dead horseman's widow with her financial problems. The next time the widow entered a horse at YA-WET-AG, it received little competition and consequently won the race. The problems of the widow were, at least in part, solved by the money she won from the winning purse and the money won betting on the horse.

The racing approach to death is marked by both an element of ceremony and an element of practicality. The ceremonial element, in particular, is most consistent with the dominant cultural ori-

entation to death. At times, however, more practical problems are viewed as more important; in this case, the racing approach is altered to solve the practical problem at the expense of the ceremonial aspect. It is the priority of financial considerations over ceremonial considerations as we shall again see further on that distinguishes the subculture of racing from the American culture.

Conclusion

The race track is more than the sum of its individual parts. The source of the larger social organization is the combination of actors and activities with a core of values which defines situations and appropriate actions. The central core of values represents the content of the social organization and through them the organization takes on a cultural dimension which separates it from all other organizations and cultures.

The cultural dimension of the racing business goes beyond the total social organization of the track; indeed, it has implications for the individual lives of all of the participants. As Park states,

In the little worlds where people come close together, human nature develops.... The definite personalities that we know grow up in intimate groups. Urbanity is a charming quality but it is not a virtue.... It is more or less fundamental traits of personality which arise in the intimate group which enable us to act with definiteness and assurance towards others. Manners are of secondary importance. (Park, 1950: 22)

Thus, we would expect that any cultural or subcultural group would be characterized by a dominant individual type. The subculture of the race track is characterized by such an individual type, and he is the central focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V: COLLECTIVE MARGINALITY AND THE BUFFALO BILL SYNDROME

Park (1928), in discussing the role of human migration in the development of civilization, claimed that one result of human migration is the emergence of a new social psychological type. This emergent type is a new kind of man who is capable of living in several cultures simultaneously. At the same time, this new type of man is not a significant part of any of the cultures in which he lives; he is, in other words, a marginal man.

As Park states,

Migration as a social phenomenon must be studied not merely in its grosser effects, as manifested in changes in custom and in the mores, but it may be envisaged in its subjective aspects as manifested in the changed type of personality which it produces. When the traditional organization of society breaks down, as a result of contact and collision with a new invading culture, the effect is, so to speak, to emancipate the individual man. Energies that were formerly controlled by custom and tradition are released. The individual is free for new adventures, but he is more or less without direction and control. (Park, 1928: 887)

The emergent man is more than a psychological type, because he is the product of social forces which are beyond his direct control. Thus, the marginal man is a social psychological type. As Park explains,

The conception which each individual inevitably forms of himself is determined by the role which fate assigns to him in some society, and upon the opinion and attitude which persons in that society form of him - depends, in short, upon his social status. The individual's

conception of himself is, in this sense, not an individual but a social product. (Park, 1937: xvii)

In many ways the men who race horses for a living can be viewed as marginal men. At the same time, the marginality of the individual horsemen stems from their membership in the racing community and their shared backgrounds which serve to differentiate them from other individuals and communities. In this sense, the entire racing community is marginal, or, in other words, the horsemen as a group are collectively marginal.

The marginality of the group stems from a number of factors. One important factor is the geographical and social backgrounds of the horsemen.

Ruralism and Collective Marginality

Horse racing, or at least big-time horse racing, is an urban game. The bulk of the larger and more prestigious race tracks are located in or near large urban centers, such as New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis. Although there are smaller race tracks located in rural areas, the elite of the racing industry tend to race in the cities.

The location of the larger race tracks in large cities is significant, because most of the horsemen are products of the rural life. Although YA-WET-AG is located in a city, the horsemen come from such places as Augusta, Kansas; Larkspur, Colorado; Beaver, Utah; and Ethan, South Dakota. Consequently, the horsemen are different--both socially and psychologically--from the patrons of

the track and the residents of the surrounding urban area.

Perhaps the most obvious rural feature of the horsemen is their dress. The standard attire for the horsemen consists of cowboy boots, blue jeans, a western style shirt and, often, a cowboy hat. In addition to their dress, the horsemen tend to be conservative in their grooming. Even the younger members of the community seldom have facial hair or long hair. Few of the female members wear hot pants or other clothes that are considered fashionable by urbanites; instead, they tend to dress much like the men.

The dress is indicative of the self image of the horsemen. They, generally, consider themselves to be "just plain folks," similar to the people of Springdale studied by Vidich and Bensman (1958). The "folksy" orientation of the horsemen is also reflected in their attitudes toward work.

Most of the horsemen consider it proper for a man to work with his hands. Other work is seen as legitimate, but less masculine. One owner-trainer, for example, distinguished himself from his brother, a book salesman, in terms of the central product of their work. Thus, he was a "horseman," whereas his brother was a "bookman." Others are sometimes classified as "deskmen." In any case, the man who does not work with his hands is, generally, considered to be less masculine.

The emphasis on informal interpersonal relations is another area that distinguishes the horsemen from their urban neighbors. For the most part, the horsemen prefer to have relationships with other

people that are of a primary nature. According to Cooley (1909), a primary relationship is a face-to-face relationship which is informal and involves the participants as total human beings. In many cases, however, the horsemen cannot achieve the ideal primary relationship.

The large amount of physical mobility and the temporary nature of racing meets serve to impede the development of primary relations. Nevertheless, the horsemen tend to view the primary type of interpersonal relationship as proper; consequently, they attempt to create them to the extent that they are able.

This is reflected in many of the communal help practices of the horsemen. The less affluent owner-trainers often join together in their training of the horses. One trainer may, for example, loan another trainer his stable boy or groom. In other cases, one trainer will help another to detect an injury to a horse or suggest a change in feeding practices. The communal help emphasis is particularly evident in times of crises, such as in the previously discussed problem of death.

The typical horseman, then, is rural in his background and his orientation to life. Even the owner-trainers who live in or near cities tend to adopt the dominant rural emphasis of the other horsemen. However, it is important to recognize that the horsemen are not totally rural in their orientation. First, the horsemen are dependent upon the city for their economic livelihood. This rather distinguishes them from other rural people, because the horsemen

must take account of the activities and processes of urban life in making their livings.

Secondly, the horsemen are somewhat marginal in relation to the strictly rural orientation, because of the limitations and demands of the racing industry. One feature that distinguishes horse racing from other ways of life is that it is a sport.

Sport and Collective Marginality

Sport, as with other forms of human activity, is a cultural phenomenon that reflects the larger culture from which it stems. One of the distinguishing features of sport in industrialized society, and the United States in particular, is the emphasis on achievement (Lüschen, 1967). Thus, American sport is characterized by competition and an emphasis on winning.

In addition to the competitive character of sport is the element of chance or uncertainty in the outcome (Loy, 1968). It is this element that gives each sporting contest a sense of excitement and suspense that is not found in many other social situations. In other cases, the uncertain nature of the contest is a reflection of the larger culture. Gorer (1963), for example, claims that the British penchant for gambling is a reflection of the rural tradition of the country which emphasizes gentlemanliness and sportsmanship.

Given these criteria, horse racing is certainly a sport. At its center is a competitive spirit that pervades all aspects of the social organization. It is in the head-to-head competition of the race that the ultimate value of each horse and each horseman is

decided. It is the winner who receives the economic and social rewards that accompany the race. This applies equally to the winning bettor, as well as to the winning horseman.

But it is the uncertain element of the contest that gives the competition its appeal. Despite the efforts of some horsemen to intervene in the races in an effort to control the outcome, the winner is never certain of victory until the race is ended, and not always then. The element of uncertainty is augmented by the differential weighting of the entries in allowance and handicap races. Under these conditions, the winner should not be predictable.

Thus, one source of the marginality of the racing community is that it is a sporting community. Although the sporting event reflects the values of the larger culture, the horsemen are different from other people who live in worlds that are more certain and less overtly competitive.

The world of the sportsman is, however, different from the larger social world in another way. Sport is basically a game and not true to "real" life (Loy, 1968). In this sense, the world of the sportsman is a make-believe world.

Sports share this characteristic of make-believe with the games and exploits to which children, especially boys, are habitually inclined. Make-believe does not enter in the same proportion into all sports, but it is present in a very appreciable degree in all.
(Veblen, 1934: 256)

The competition of horse racing is not a product of the forces of real life; it is a product of a situation that was purposefully created for the entertainment of the betting patrons. In this sense,

the world of horse racing is mythical in both form and content. That is, both the structure and the meaning that are attached to horse racing and the racing community are inventions for the entertainment of racing fans.

The mythical aspect of horse racing is one factor that serves to differentiate the horsemen from other groups, and in so doing, gives the racing community a marginal status with the larger community. The racing man is a marginal man, because he is defined as living in a world that is not "real" and without "real" consequences.

The public definition of racing activity as make-believe is in one sense true, but looked at another way, racing is a "real" world with "real" consequences. Horse racing is more than a sport; it is also a business. To the extent that it is a business, horse racing shares many features with the larger society and culture.

The Racing Business and Collective Marginality

McDonald (1960) states that the contemporary racing scene is very much different from its historical roots. The significant difference stems from the addition of business interests and practices to the sport. The business dimension is reflected in a new concern for the demands of the betting public. The change in emphasis can be seen in both the structure of new racing facilities and the elimination of races which are of little interest to the bettors.

The business dimension of horse racing goes beyond the track officials and the bettors. It has implications for the horsemen, as well. It is the horsemen, after all, who most directly depend on

horse racing as a source of economic gain. Consequently, the horsemen are more than sportsmen; they are businessmen as well. As businessmen, the horsemen are economic pragmatists.

The variations in training procedure are indicators of economic concerns of the horsemen. The following statement by one of the nation's leading owner-trainers is further evidence of this point:

"Racing is a wonderful sport and I love it," he said several years ago, adding, "but I try to run the stable as I do my business in Columbus. Too many owners and trainers become too sentimental about their horses, which can break a man." (Daily Racing Form, 1971: 6)

A further reflection of the pragmatism of the horsemen is the criteria used to judge the abilities of the trainers. The single most important standard used by the horsemen in evaluating the skills of their peers is whether the trainer knows what races to enter his horses in or not. The good trainer is practical about the abilities of his horses and will not enter a mediocre horse in a race with high quality horses.

The horsemen, then, share a pragmatic approach to economic matters with the larger business community. To the extent that the horsemen share this orientation with other segments of American society and culture, they are consistent with the dominate economic orientation of the larger culture. They are not, however, totally within the main stream of American economic life.

Even in economic affairs, the horsemen are still a marginal group. The marginality stems from the manner in which they get their incomes. Most Americans gain the bulk of their incomes from jobs that guar-

antee a specific salary or wage in exchange for their services or products; the income of the horsemen is not so secure. Because the outcome of each race is in varying degrees uncertain, the horsemen cannot count on a constant income. Consequently, the racing community and its members may be seen as marginal.

The significant factors, then in defining the horsemen as a group are the rural background of the participants, the sporting dimension of the occupation--particularly the mythical nature of the sport--and the pragmatism of the horsemen. Each of these factors can be traced to the social conditions under which the horsemen live. Put another way, they are the products of the social forces of racing life. It is these factors which make the racing community a type of marginal collectivity.

Each of these factors, however, has an impact on the individual lives of the horsemen. The result of these social factors is a dominant social psychological human type. The typical racing man can be characterized as a marginal man who is dominated by the Buffalo Bill Syndrome.*

The Buffalo Bill Syndrome

In many ways, the men who make up the racing community are the contemporary version of the cowboy. According to Nebraska Ned (1915), a friend and colleague of William Cody, Buffalo Bill was the single

*I am not using the word syndrome to indicate an abnormality; rather, I am using it to indicate a distinctive Weltanschauung, which is to say, a distinctive perspective toward the social world.

most representative figure in the culture of the cowboy. According to Nebraska Ned, he was.

A splendid specimen of Western American manhood, agile sharp-eyed, quick-eared, keen-witted, a matchless horseman, an unerring marksman, the pride of his day, the glory of his co-workers, he moved grandly, resolutely in the van of advancing civilization, its brightest, its leading star. He is at once strong and gentle, determined and docile, fearless and considerate, robust and refined, courteous and cultured, presenting to one's admiring gaze a noble type of manhood, a superb specimen of ideal American citizenship. (Nebraska Ned, 1915: 9-10)

The extent to which the horsemen share the qualities described by Nebraska Ned is a moot question, as is the extent to which Cody had them. The point is, however, that the horsemen generally recognize these qualities as admirable and desireable. The similarity between the personality and the background of Buffalo Bill and the horsemen at YA-WET-AG goes beyond the personal attributes just discussed. Indeed, it is the other shared features which define the horsemen as dominated by the Buffalo Bill Syndrome.

Buffalo Bill was first a product of rural America. His early life was spent in rural areas of Iowa, Kentucky and Kansas (Leonard and Goodman, 1955). Similarly, his occupational pursuits were rural and frontier in nature. He was, for example, a pony express rider, a buffalo hunter, a scout and a guide (Leonard and Goodman, 1955). Although he is well-known as a showman and entertainer, he was clearly a man of the country.

They lionized Colonel Cody as he rode his white charger gallantly through the throngs of New York, London and Paris. He was feted and praised by royalty, visited by kings and presidents, received by queens and princesses.

Yet he was plain Buffalo Bill to his old friends the plainsmen.... (Goodman, 1955: 12)

The horsemen share a common rural background with their more noted predecessor. The commonality goes beyond the rural background, however. Buffalo Bill was also known as an entertainer and leader of his Wild West Show. This aspect of Buffalo Bill's life involved him in play or sport-as-work that took him to the great urban centers of America and Europe.

As with the horsemen, Buffalo Bill became a marginal man adapting to new forms of civilization with the advent of his show business career. Although he maintained his home and social roots in the rural areas, he was dependent upon the urban population for his show business success. His marginal status is exemplified by the fact that the shows dealt exclusively with the exploits and happenings of rural and frontier men and their romanticized life styles.

A significant similarity between the horsemen and Buffalo Bill is that they are both products of rural America. Consequently, the central values of the horsemen, as with Buffalo Bill, are traceable to the culture of rural America. At the same time, both the horsemen and Buffalo Bill are influenced by the structure and values of urban America. The central values of both the horsemen and Buffalo Bill are somewhat different from the exclusively rural orientations of their time, because the processes of the city are of direct importance to both.

Another similarity between the life of Buffalo Bill and contemporary racing men is the entertainment aspect of both. The

primary effect of the Wild West Show of Buffalo Bill was to entertain, although he often claimed that he was attempting to bring a true picture of rural America to urbanites (Nebraska Ned, 1915). In other words, the world created by the show was a mythical world that represented reality only to a limited extent.

The romanticized nature of the Wild West Show is reflected in the few remaining films of the show. The show is characterized by its fast pace and continuous action. There was little time between various parts of the show, giving the observer the impression that life in the West was a continuous battle with Indians and buffalo. The myth is reflected in the recollections of Mrs. Bertha Dress in a personal interview. As a young girl she saw the Wild West Show and felt it was neither exciting nor realistic. In part, her reaction stemmed from the fact that she grew up in a rural area of Nebraska, and, consequently possessed first-hand knowledge about the rural life. Although the various elements that made up the show were reflections of the history of the West, the presentation as a whole gave an incorrect impression, according to Mrs. Dress.

An example of the mythical aspect of the show is given by Leonard and Goodman.

Then the highpoint of the exhibition - the reenactment of the duel with Yellow Hand. First swiftly, then slowly, Buffalo Bill and an Indian brave, drafted to portray Yellow Hand, rode toward one another from opposite ends of the arena. When in range, they emptied their revolvers at each other. Dismounting, they chose new weapons - parrying, thrusting, shifting, whirling, falling only to rise again - until Cody grabbed the spear with one hand and drove home the

knife with the other. The great scout bent over the "dead" warrior and shattered the hush of the arena by hollering, "The first scalp for Custer." Applause crashed down upon him from every seat, Buffalo Bill climbed back on his horse Charlie, cantered to the very center of the grounds, where man and horse, as if fused together into a centaur, bowed in every direction. The band struck up a lively tune; the horseman rode off into the darkness. The show was over. (Leonard and Goodman, 1955: 241)

In different but parallel ways, the horsemen are showmen, too. The entertaining and mythical nature of both horse racing and the Wild West Show stems from the contrived source of each. Buffalo Bill contrived a show that was both entertaining and designed to reflect the life of the cowboy. The horsemen, on the other hand, are less involved in the contrivance of their show, because it is principally designed and administered by the track officials. Nevertheless, the horsemen are active participants in the show and are influenced by it.

The entertainment dimension of horse racing is made clearer when the role of the horses is considered. Specifically, horses are typically treated as functional animals and their value stems from the number and types of work tasks which they perform. In the world of horse racing, horses are actors and entertainers. This is further reflected in the classification of the animals; horse racers classify horses in terms of the types of entertainment performances in which they engage. Nonracing horsemen typically classify their horses in terms of the work-related tasks which they perform.

A final similarity between the contemporary horsemen and Buffalo Bill stems from a shared pragmatic view of the world. In most of his activities, Buffalo Bill was a pragmatist, as is reflected in

this statement by Nebraska Ned:

The inspiration came when he was invited to witness the initial production of a border drama based on his own adventurous life and its thrilling incidents, written and produced by Ned Buntline. He saw himself for the first time as others saw him, and he took the hint from the pleasure the big audience evidenced that Western life was interesting to the people. But the narrow confines of the indoor stage did not appeal to him. He preferred the grander, more spacious setting of God's great open-air amphitheater, where he could reproduce in actual reality those stirring scenes, sensational incidents and tragic happenings, in which he had himself so prominently participated. (Nebraska Ned, 1915: 173)

Both the horsemen of YA-WET-AG and Buffalo Bill are characterized by a practicality, particularly toward monetary matters. The significant criteria for the use of a particular technique or involvement in a new activity is in terms of success. These men ask, "Does it work?" not, "Why does it work?"

The man who is dominated by the Buffalo Bill Syndrome is a practical, rural man who makes his living by entertaining city people. Consequently, he is a marginal man in both the town and the country. Both the dominance of the Buffalo Bill Syndrome and marginality of the racing men are reflected in their behavior, especially in their backstage behavior.

Backstage Behavior, the Buffalo Bill Syndrome and Collective Marginality

Goffman (1959) differentiates between two types of behavior, frontstage and backstage. Frontstage behavior consists of all of the individual and group acts and performances that are designed for

the observance and consumption of others. Backstage behavior, on the other hand, is behavior that takes place out of the view of non-group members, and is designed for group members exclusively.

Among the functions of backstage behavior are the integration of the group and the definition of who does and does not belong to the group. The actions that are associated with the integration of the group and definition of members are also important indicators of the significant concerns of group members and the attitudes of the members to others. One source for getting at the dominant orientations of the horsemen is through their backstage behavior.

One attitude of the horsemen reflected through their backstage behavior is the suspicion of city people. This is particularly evident with respect to men who do not work with their hands. As stated previously, the horsemen generally consider those men who work at jobs that are associated with sitting at a desk as somewhat less than totally masculine. These people are generally classified as "deskmen." The ridicule of the urban men usually takes place over such things as dress and grooming.

Since attending the horse races is a leisure activity for most of the patrons, they dress accordingly. The male patrons wear shorts, bright colored shirts, sandals, or other sports clothing. As stated previously, the horsemen tend to dress in the traditional western style. The appearance of men in sports clothing is often considered an appropriate time for amusement and astonishment at the dress of urbanites. Likewise, the longer hair styles of the urbanite

are ridiculed; often they are called "wild hair-dos" by the horsemen.*

As with the dress and grooming of the male patrons, black persons who attend the races are subjects of backstage behavior and comment. In part, the ridicule of blacks stems from the relative absence of black horsemen at YA-WET-AG. One horseman told me of a black trainer he knew who failed and left the business. He claimed that the black trainer was unfriendly to the other horsemen, and, consequently, was unpopular. It was this horseman's conclusion, based on this one experience, that blacks are not smart enough to be trainers. At any rate, black patrons are generally considered as appropriate objects of backstage behavior, which is usually limited to racial jokes.

It should be noted that the ridicule of the various patrons of the track is strictly backstage behavior. It is not in the interests of the horsemen to alienate the betting patrons from the track; consequently, they are not likely to engage in a ridiculing manner on the frontstage. A second factor inhibiting the horsemen is the equal opportunity commitment of the track. Thus, overt behavior that is prejudicial or discriminatory is discouraged by track officials.

It is my feeling, however, that even if the track officials did not discourage acts of racial prejudice and discrimination, the

*The ridiculing of men with long hair is interesting inasmuch as Buffalo Bill wore his hair at shoulder length.

horsemen would not generally engage in it. Although blacks are viewed as inferior, they are generally classified with the other city people who are also considered inferior. Certainly, although some of the horsemen are prejudicial toward blacks on racial grounds, the majority consider them to be a part of the larger, naive group of urbanites.

The general gullibility of the urbanites is reflected in the attitudes of the horsemen toward the bettors. Horse racing as a sport or game is governed by both formal and informal rules. The horsemen know both the formal and the informal rules of the game, whereas many of the patrons do not. This is particularly evident in judging the quality of the horses. I told one horseman of a bettor I knew who bet on the horse that entered the track with its head held highest; the bettor assumed that it was a proud horse and would do well in the race. This is considered an incorrect evaluation by the horsemen; consequently, the horseman's reply was that he would enter a giraffe in the next race and the bettor would probably bet on it.

Although the sport of horse racing can be seen as a myth and romance laden activity and a reflection of culture and society, there are rules that are seen as important and "real" by the horsemen. Those people who are not aware of the rules, such as not knowing a quality horse from a mediocre horse, are ridiculed in the backstage. The people least likely to know the rules are the occasional patrons who bet for fun; it is this group that is most likely

to be ridiculed and considered foolish by the horsemen.

Lastly, the Buffalo Bill Syndrome is reflected in the pragmatism of the horsemen toward betting and the lack of pragmatism of the general betting population. Few horsemen bet on the races on a regular basis and even fewer bet on every race. Instead, the horsemen take a practical view of betting; they generally bet on races in which they are relatively sure of the outcome. Thus, the horsemen are not likely to bet on maiden races or the races that have large purses attached to them. The maiden races are too unpredictable, because the entries are young and inexperienced. Similarly, the large races are unpredictable, because it is likely that the various strategies employed by the trainers will result in an unexpected winner.

A common betting practice by the horsemen is to bet infrequently and when they are relatively sure of the outcome. One horseman at YA-WET-AG only bet once a week, but he always won. His winning record stemmed from his knowledge of the condition of the entries. He bet only on those races in which the best entry was in condition to run its best. Few members of the betting public, particularly the occasional bettors, have access to this type of information.

A second procedure is to bet on the horses that consistently finish in the top three places. This is, perhaps, the most practical approach to betting. The horseman bets on a consistent horse to finish third; although his chances of winning a large amount of money are small, his chances of losing his money are also small. As one

horseman told me, "The people in the stands don't know about consistency; that's why they wonder why favorites never come in."

The backstage behavior of the horsemen tends to reflect the general rural, entertainment and pragmatic orientations of the Buffalo Bill Syndrome. Each of these features is relative, however. Pragmatism, in particular, is relative to group definition. In a later chapter we will see that much of the behavior is not as practical as the backstage behavior might indicate. At the same time, the values stressed and the activities most frequently engaged in by the horsemen emphasize the elements of the Buffalo Bill Syndrome and they serve to set the racing men apart from the larger urban complex.

Conclusion

The values, activities and backgrounds of the horsemen tend to emphasize three elements: ruralism, entertainment and pragmatism. When joined together, these elements are the basis for the marginal status of the racing community within the city. At the same time, they are very similar to the values, activities and backgrounds of the early cowboy in American and particularly Buffalo Bill. In this sense, the members of the racing community, as well as the racing community as a whole, can be characterized as dominated by a Buffalo Bill Syndrome. The Buffalo Bill Syndrome and the marginality of the racing community within the city are reflected in the backstage entertaining, and exploitative nature of the behavior of the horsemen.

There is more to the racing community than the collective marginality that sets the community apart from the surrounding city. As with other groups, there are divisions within the community that serve to set the various groups that make up the community apart. Two of the most important factors in differentiating the horsemen are money and commitment to the life style associated with horse racing. In many ways, these two factors are complementary and overlapping; they comprise the central focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI: MONEY AND PRESTIGE AS ORGANIZING PRINCIPLES

Money and American Society

The emphasis on the accumulation of money and the material objects which money can buy is a well-recognized characteristic of American life. Alexis de Tocqueville (1945) noted that in democratic nations with no formally established aristocratic social class, some informal standard for ranking individuals must be developed. Contrasted with America, nineteenth-century England was a strictly structured society. Tocqueville (1945: 177-185) says two social classes existed: the aristocrats and the servants. Each social class bound individuals to prescribed life styles based on family. The emphasis on ascription as the basis for differentiating people solved the problem of ranking people and stratifying groups within English society.

America, on the other hand, possessed no formally established or maintained structure for ranking its members. Still, America of the nineteenth century was not a classless society. Instead, the conditions of social equality and the frontier facilitated the development of other standards for ranking individuals and groups within society.

No communities have ever existed in

which social conditions have been so equal that there were neither rich nor poor, and, consequently, neither masters nor servants. Democracy does not prevent the existence of these two classes, but it changes their dispositions and modifies their mutual relations.
(Tocqueville, 1945: 177)

One basis for dividing men is upon the degree of wealth that they possess relative to each other. Thus, Tocqueville observed, one important source of social position and social status in America is wealth. American "dispositions" and "mutual relations" were "modified" to include money and material accumulation as an indicator of social rank.

The American concern for wealth is manifested in the emphasis placed on individual achievement in American society. Americans view themselves as the masters of their own destinies.

They owe nothing to any man, they expect nothing from any man; they acquire the habit of always considering themselves as standing alone, and they are apt to imagine that their whole destiny is in their own hands. (Tocqueville, 1945: 99)

The American concern with the money stems, to a certain extent, from the emphasis on pragmatic standards of differentiation. It is the practical invention or innovation that seems to reap greater financial and social rewards in American society.

The greater part of the men who constitute these nations are extremely eager in the pursuit of actual and physical gratification. As they are always dissatisfied with the position which they occupy, and are always free to leave it, they think of nothing but the means of changing their fortune, or increasing it. To minds thus predisposed, every new method which leads by a shorter road to wealth, every machine which spares labor, every instrument which diminishes the cost of production, every discovery which facilitates pleasures or augments them, seems to be the grandest effort of the human intellect. It is chiefly from these motives that a democratic people addicts itself to scientific pursuits, - that it understands and respects them. (Tocqueville, 1945: 45)

With the urbanization of American society, the importance of money as a standard of differentiation and as a principle of social

organization can be seen to have increased. Louis Wirth (1938) noted that the conditions and demands of the urban life increase the significance of money as a factor in social interaction and, consequently, social organization. Wirth contended that the conditions of the city, increased anonymity, occupational specialization and increased interpersonal interdependence, provide a situation in which money becomes an important source of and for the development of definitions of the situation in the city.

The horsemen of YA-WET-AG are not immune from such standards for differentiating individuals and groups. Indeed, a vast majority of the horsemen readily accept money as an important divider of men. The significance of money as a dividing standard is, however, not in the standard itself, but lies in the social forms which result from the standard.

Max Weber (1946) claimed that the significance of ranking people and groups is based on the development of differing life styles for group members. The importance of possessing wealth is not in the wealth itself, but in the life style that the wealth can buy. Consequently, the differentiation of men based on monetary value results in a differentiation of groups based on variations in life style.

This is, to repeat, the case at YA-WET-AG. It is to be expected that the distribution of winnings is not equal among racing men. Inherent in the definition of competition is a differentiation of the contestants based on their performance. Consequently, differ-

ential rewards are given to the varying performances. But the division in financial reward is not the only, and certainly not the most important, standard of differentiation that is found at YA-WET-AG. The important result of the differentiation of reward is the development of three somewhat distinct life styles that are available at the track.

Social Differentiation Among the Horsemen

The horsemen of YA-WET-AG can be classified into three groups based on income and life style. This is not to suggest that there is not some overlap among the groups. Indeed, the members of all three groups are bound by the very nature of their work to the conditions and limitations of the horse racing occupation. However, this does not mean that a diversity of life styles is not available within the confines of the racing business.

The importance of money as a standard of differentiation is augmented by the public nature of the racing business. When an owner, trainer or jockey is a consistent winner or loser, the fact becomes well-known within the racing community. Indeed, it is regularly recorded and published in the newspapers, magazines and pamphlets that are read by the racing public. Furthermore, racing results appear regularly in the local newspaper and are read by the non-racing public as well. Thus, past successes and failures become important measures of a man's occupational worth, both to his peers and the public.

The extent of the community knowledge is so vast and thorough that it is seldom necessary to consult the published listings to find the earnings of any single horseman. It is simpler, and usually as accurate, to ask the horseman's peers. For example, one afternoon I noticed that one horseman was claiming several horses. I mentioned this to another horseman. He explained that the man had won \$13,000 on the previous day and he was attempting to build up his stable by reinvesting his winnings. By the end of the afternoon, the horseman had claimed three horses for a total of \$10,750.

On another day I mentioned that one of the leading trainers had won an unusually high number of the races in which he had entered a horse. I was told that the previous year the same trainer had entered more than two hundred horses and had won only \$98,000 for the season.

Based on publicly known information about income, racing success, and life style, the horsemen at YA-WET-AG can be classified into three groups: the racing hobbyists, the stakes horsemen and the claiming horsemen.

The Racing Hobbyists

The racing hobbyists derive their primary incomes from sources that are not associated with the racing business. These horsemen race for the enjoyment and excitement of competition and winning, as well as for the financial and possible tax advantages of such investments. Racing for them is, however, primarily a hobby. Several racing hobbyists compete at YA-WET-AG.

Most of the hobbyists hold professional positions. Primarily they are medical doctors and attorneys, but other occupational groups are represented as well. Among the other racing hobbyists are a popular country and western singer, a professional wrestler and a local city employee.

Racing hobbyists are an important part of the history of horse racing in America. Much of the glamour and entertainment of the sport is connected with the presence of hobbyists. Leo Rosten (1941) notes that horse racing and members of the movie industry are closely linked together. Hal Roach, director and producer of the "Our Gang" movies, first conceived of the Santa Anita racing facility in California. He also served as the first president of the Santa Anita track. Other entertainers, including Bing Crosby, were instrumental in establishing the Del Mar race track.

For such racing enthusiasts, the money is secondary to the thrill and respect that accompany winning.

When Mr. Crosby's mare noses out Mr. Roach's mare, for example, Mr. Crosby wins personal kudos - even though he neither ran the race nor rode the beast. (Rosten, 1941: 218)

In fact, it is claimed that Groucho Marx once attempted to see a producer in a jockey's uniform. He claimed, "This is the only way you can get to see a producer these days." (Rosten, 1941: 214)

Few of the racing hobbyists at YA-WET-AG are as celebrated as those in California, but they do comprise an important segment of the racing public. The importance of the hobbyists stems mainly from the quality of their horses. Because it is a hobby, most of

these horsemen are willing to invest in horses of considerable worth and quality. The winners of two of the largest purses at YA-WET-AG are owned by racing hobbyists.

The racing hobbyists are the "leisure class" of the racing business. In the development of industrialism Veblen (1934) noted the rise of a distinct social class in America. This class, he claimed, is based on the possession of wealth and is manifested in the acquisition of symbols of high social status. Such symbols reflect the lack of concern the members of the "leisure class" have for the functionality of money as a means of meeting individual needs. Instead, the members of the "leisure class" use their money to accumulate items of little or no functional value. The spending of large sums of money for such purposes presumably indicates the members' lack of dependence on earning money to meet their living expenses. This phenomenon Veblen called conspicuous consumption, i.e., consumption for the exclusive purpose of reflecting and indicating social position.

Owning a race horse is one type of conspicuous consumption. Buying and racing thoroughbred horses is an expensive undertaking. The racing hobbyists at YA-WET-AG possess the financial resources to meet the expenses of horse racing. Indeed, they are sufficiently independent of the monetary aspects of horse racing that winning is more important than getting ahead financially.

One of the more respected and well-known, among the horsemen, racing hobbyists at YA-WET-AG is a professional wrestler. He owns one horse which he trains himself. His influence stems, not from

the value of his horse nor his skills as a trainer, but from his reputation as a wrestler and from his financial autonomy in the racing business.

He has little problem with training his horse because the other trainers are quite willing to advise him on the proper procedures involved. The more experienced trainers are, in effect, exchanging their racing expertise for the social prestige that is associated with the wrestler.

This seems to be a unique arrangement at YA-WET-AG. The professional wrestler is the only racing hobbyist who associates with the non-hobbyist trainers. In all of the other cases, the racing hobbyists spend hardly any of their time at the track. Consequently, they are given marginal status within the racing community.

On the other hand, the unusual treatment given the wrestler may reflect the similarity in the nature of the horse racing and wrestling businesses. Both occupations are sports and entertainment centered. Although the skills involved in horse racing and wrestling are very different, the general sports-entertainment orientation of both occupations is very similar.

The professional wrestler, however, is not given full membership in the racing community either. Instead, he is appreciated by the other horsemen for his wrestling and entertaining skills. He is treated as a celebrity with all of the prestige that is associated with that role. His thoughts regarding racing and his

training skills are seldom given consideration though.

The racing hobbyists at YA-WET-AG form a separate group or social division. They are viewed as outsiders who are not a part of the racing community. They form a type of "leisure class" in the racing business and their investments are seen as a type of "conspicuous consumption" by the other horsemen. As a group or as individuals the racing hobbyists have little social impact on the organization of the racing community at YA-WET-AG.

The Stakes Horsemen

The stakes horsemen at YA-WET-AG are those owners and trainers who possess a large stable of race horses. The stakes horsemen are differentiated from the racing hobbyists in the number of horses that they own and in their relative dependence on the racing business for their incomes. The racing hobbyists at YA-WET-AG own relatively few horses, three at the most. The stakes horsemen, on the other hand, own large numbers of race horses. One stakes horseman at YA-WET-AG owns nearly four hundred thoroughbred race horses. More important than the number of horses owned is the relative dependence the stakes horsemen have on the racing business as an occupation in contrast to the racing hobbyists. Although the stakes horsemen may have financial interests in other business enterprises, such as banks, farms and ranches, they derive a significant portion of their incomes from racing horses. Many at YA-WET-AG derive their sole incomes from horse racing.

The stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists are similar with

respect to the types of race toward which they concentrate their efforts. Both spend most of their time and race most of their horses in the larger stakes races. The stakes races, with their larger purses, offer a greater return for entrants. For example, a sixth place finish in a \$20,000 stakes race earns the owner a \$600 return compared to a return of \$1100 for winning a claiming race with a purse of \$2000. The chances of earning money are better in the stakes races. If a horseman can depend upon at least a sixth-place finish in a stakes race, why should he risk having to sell his horse in an attempt to win in a claiming race?

The stakes horsemen are able to concentrate on the stakes races, because they possess most of the higher quality horses. The racing hobbyists also tend to own high quality animals. Consequently, the larger stakes races are dominated by the horses owned by stakes horsemen and racing hobbyists.

The difference in investment return between the stakes races and the claiming races is important. Although the object of competitive racing is to win, the purpose of the racing occupation is to accumulate money from the horses that are raced. Winning the most races is not a guarantee that a great deal of money has been won.

Only 11 times in the past half century [has] the owner who won the most races also has been the leading money-winner of the year. (Day, 1971: 9)

Winning large amounts of money does not mean entering and winning the most races. Instead, those who win the most money usually enter races on a selective basis. The horsemen who win the

most money at YA-WET-AG concentrate their racing efforts on those races that offer the largest purses. In effect, the races offering the largest purses are the races where the stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists can get the largest return on their investment.

A vicious circle, then, exists in the racing community at YA-WET-AG. Only the animals of the highest quality can effectively compete in the stakes races. The stakes races offer the highest return on the horsemen's investments. Consequently, those horsemen who own the horses of highest quality will make sufficient money to continue to buy better quality horses. The horses of highest quality at YA-WET-AG are found in the stables owned by the stakes horsemen and racing hobbyists. The domination of the stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists of the best horses perpetuates the economic distinctions between themselves and the other horsemen at YA-WET-AG.

Most of the stakes horsemen at YA-WET-AG race horses at more than one track simultaneously. The largest stable at YA-WET-AG consists of nearly four hundred horses. The owner-trainer is able to compete at as many as four tracks at one time. Also, he is able to move his horses about in order to get the best performances from all of his horses. For example, when one horse is not winning or if it is injured or sick, he sends the horse back to his farm and another horse is brought as a replacement.

Another practice of the stakes horsemen is primarily to race a horse at one track and to enter it in races at another track on

a selective basis. Many of the larger stables at YA-WET-AG fly their horses to another race track to compete in only a single race which offers a particularly large purse. It is also common for a sizable number of horses to be flown into YA-WET-AG for a twenty or thirty thousand dollar stakes race.

Unlike the racing hobbyists, the stakes horsemen are an integral part of the racing community. The stakes horsemen are committed to horse racing as a vocation. It is more than a hobby for these men; they derive significant portions of their income from their earnings at the track.

It is important to note, however, that the commitment of the stakes horsemen is more than economic. It is social, including all of the ramifications of the meaning of the term, as well. Where the racing hobbyists are not tied to the demands of the track, they are tied to the requirements of their primary work; the stakes horsemen are tied to horse racing as an occupation and, consequently, to the social organization of the track. The stakes horsemen have vested interests in the "goings on" at the track.

This interest of the stakes horsemen in the social organization of the track is manifested in the amount of time they spend there and the nature of their relationships with other horsemen. The stakes horsemen spend considerably more time at the track than do the racing hobbyists. The racing hobbyists seldom appear for the morning work-out of the horses. The stakes horsemen, on the other hand, are nearly always present for the morning work-out. This is

particularly important, because many of the stakes horsemen at YA-WET-AG have assistant trainers in their employ who do most of the actual training of the horses. Because the stakes horsemen need not appear for the morning work-out, their daily presence is indicative of their commitment to the racing community.

The social background of the stakes horsemen is also different from that of the racing hobbyists. Most of the stakes horsemen at YA-WET-AG come from rural environments and they have attained their present success from predominately rurally oriented occupations, be they horse racing, farming, or ranching. They are tied to the track because that is where their success is based.

The ties between the stakes horsemen and the racing occupation are reflected in their life styles and their relationships with others at the track. The racing hobbyists spend most of their time away from the track. The stakes horsemen spend most of their time at the track, even when they aren't needed. The racing hobbyists spend little, if any, time in the same physical and social areas as the other horsemen. For example, few racing hobbyists can be found hanging around the stables or eating at the track-owned cafe. The stakes horsemen, on the other hand, are often seen sitting in the stables discussing horse racing with other horsemen. The stakes horsemen also gather in the bars and restaurants that are frequented by the other horsemen in contrast to those where the racing hobbyists gather.

Although the stakes horsemen are more tied to racing as an

occupation than the racing hobbyists, they are, at the same time, more nearly autonomous relative to the track than the less affluent claiming horsemen. Where the claiming horsemen tend to live in mobile housing units located on the grounds of the YA-WET-AG facility, most of the stakes horsemen live in motels or rented apartments and houses. Whereas the less affluent horsemen are tied to one race track at a time, the stakes horsemen fly from track to track to compete in other racing meets. And while other horsemen are tied to the track financially, the stakes horsemen usually have other sources of income. Although the alternate sources of income are seldom vast, such sources make the claiming horsemen more independent of the track than their less affluent counterparts.

The stakes horsemen are both tied to and autonomous from the social and economic organization of the racing business. They are the successful men of the racing industry. While their successes give them the wherewithal to live apart from the track, few leave the racing business. Most are tied to the track because it is at the track that they can associate with people of like interests and similar backgrounds. Of equal importance is that the track is where their success is recognized. Unlike the hobbyists, the stakes horsemen owe their successes to the racing industry, and the recognition of that success is most openly expressed in racing circles. Consequently, the stakes horsemen are in a position to assert a certain financial independence of the racing world, but few desire or are able to be completely independent, as is true of most occupations and professions into which one is socialized.

The Claiming Horsemen

The claiming horsemen represent the pole of racing continuum opposite that represented by the racing hobbyists. The claiming horsemen are the owners and trainers associated with the smaller stables. The majority of the claiming horsemen at YA-WET-AG own horses of only mediocre quality; consequently, they depend upon the claiming races for the bulk of their racing earnings.

Although the claiming horsemen make up the bulk of the racing population at YA-WET-AG, they are more closely tied to the racing industry than either the racing hobbyists or the stakes horsemen. The ties of the claiming horsemen are based upon their dependence on racing for their incomes. Where the hobbyists and the stakes horsemen are, to varying degrees, independent of the racing business for their incomes, the claiming horsemen are more likely to depend on the earnings from racing for their entire incomes.

At the same time, the claiming horsemen experience greater fluctuations in income than the other two groups. Both the racing hobbyists and the stakes horsemen experience fluctuations in income, but they, to varying degrees, can depend on other sources of income for meeting their living expenses. For the racing hobbyists money earned from racing is extra income--losses are a tax write off--which is not necessary to meet daily living expenses. Many of the stakes horsemen not only race horses, but also breed them. Thus, they have an alternate income. The claiming horsemen are more directly dependent upon their racing incomes. Consequently, any

serious fluctuations in their racing income will directly effect their standards of living.

For example, one claiming horseman at YA-WET-AG supported himself and his wife from the racing earnings of one horse. In 1969 the horse earned \$19,000. The following year the horse won only \$12,000. The \$7000 reduction in income was a serious blow to the horseman's standard of living. For the other two racing groups, particularly the racing hobbyists, a \$7000 reduction in racing income would be a much less serious problem, since they could draw from other monetary sources to sustain themselves.

The dependence of the claiming horsemen on the racing industry is reflected in the type of racing meets that they enter. The racing hobbyists and the stakes horsemen tend to enter the larger racing meets. This practice offers a greater return on the horsemen's investments, because the larger racing meets offer the largest purses. However, to compete effectively in the larger racing meets, the horsemen must have horses of high quality.

The claiming horsemen do not possess the higher quality horses. Instead, they own mediocre horses that have little chance of winning at the larger racing meets. Consequently, most of the claiming horsemen at YA-WET-AG depend upon the smaller racing meets for the bulk of their income. For many claiming horsemen, the YA-WET-AG meet is a time to prepare their horses for the resumption of the smaller racing meets that follow the conclusion of YA-WET-AG.

The crucial variable is the element of risk involved in the larger

racing meets. The racing hobbyists and the stakes horsemen are in financial positions where they can afford to race at the larger racing meets in which the chances of winning are low. The two groups also have the advantage of being able to reduce the risk, because they own more horses of higher quality. The racing hobbyists and the stakes horsemen, then, are able to participate in the larger races, because they are less dependent upon their racing incomes than the claiming horsemen and because the risks of losing for the racing hobbyists and the stakes horsemen are reduced by the quality of their stock.

The claiming horsemen cannot afford the risks involved in the larger meets. Even though the possible gain from the larger racing meets is greater, the claiming horsemen are not in a position to take a chance on winning nothing at a racing meet. The chances of winning are greater at the smaller racing meets, because the smaller purses do not attract the owners and trainers of the better horses.

Furthermore, the claiming horsemen have less chance of winning at the larger racing meets, because their horses are not of the competitive quality that is required in the larger racing meets. The claiming horsemen not only cannot afford to lose money on single or a few racing endeavors, but the chances of the claiming horsemen winning at the larger racing meets is severely limited by the quality of their stock.

At the very time that the claiming horsemen are more dependent upon the racing industry and such quality as their horses may have for their incomes, they are the most financially insecure of the three groups. Since most of the claiming horsemen do not have horses that can effec-

tively compete in the stakes races, they must run their horses in the claiming races.

The claiming races are structured in such a way that anyone can buy any entrant in a claiming race. That is, there is a claiming price attached to each of the entrants in a claiming race. Anyone who is willing to pay the claiming price for a horse is free to purchase the animal. Consequently, the claiming horsemen have no guarantee that once the race is run that they will still own the horse.

This heightened financial insecurity of the claiming horsemen is further heightened by the claiming practices of the stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists. Many claiming horsemen feel that the stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists let others do all of the work required in training and preparing the horses. Once the animal is in winning form, the stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists can, for a price, claim it. For example, one afternoon I was talking to two claiming horsemen about an upcoming claiming race. They each said that one of the horses entered in the race was rapidly developing into a fine racer. One commented that, "that's the kind [Moore] likes to claim." Moore is the leading trainer at YA-WET-AG and he owns the largest stable as well. Not surprisingly, Moore claimed the horse. Such practices by the stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists are the source of much conflict between the claiming horsemen and the other racing groups.

Conclusion

The racing hobbyists form the speculative group in horse racing. The racing hobbyists are outsiders who speculate in the industry, but

do not fully participate. The claiming horsemen are to the direct contrary. The claiming horsemen are nearly always completely dependent upon the racing industry for their economic and social livelihoods. This distinction is reflected in the social organization of the track. The racing hobbyists seldom participate in the informal groups and associations that exist at the track. There is little reason for such participation by this group. The claiming horsemen, however, are the most active in the informal activities that take place at the track.

For example, each Monday night the horsemen at YA-WET-AG meet at a local armory for an informal boxing meet. The audience is composed largely of claiming horsemen with few stakes horsemen and hardly any racing hobbyists in attendance. The boxing meets are social occasions for the members of the racing community. The Monday night boxing matches offer both a time and a place for the horsemen at YA-WET-AG to come together and form a social group. The absence of the racing hobbyists is significant, because their absence reflects their relative nonconcern with the social organization of the race track. The presence of the claiming horsemen is also an indicator, an indicator of the importance and significance of the social organization of the track for this group.

Many of the bars around the race track are almost exclusively patronized by the horsemen who are competing at YA-WET-AG. Yet, few of the stakes horsemen frequent such bars. Instead, most of the stakes horsemen spend their leisure time at the more exclusive lounges that are found in the area of the track.

Other distinctions such as dress, housing and entertainment exist between the claiming horsemen and the stakes horsemen. The important distinction, however, is not in the tangible expression of difference between the two groups. The important difference lies in the element of choice that each group possesses. The stakes horsemen are in a position, due to their financial success, to remain members of the racing community or to join other groups. The claiming horsemen, on the other hand, do not possess such choices. They are not financially successful enough to change social worlds as easily.

While the claiming horsemen have the least autonomy of the three types under consideration in the social organization of the track, they are the least successful of the groups at YA-WET-AG. The stakes horsemen are the most successful group. This success results in an increased freedom of action for the stakes horsemen. The greater autonomy of the stakes horsemen, as opposed to the claiming horsemen, is manifested in the life styles of each group.

Just because few stakes horsemen do not leave the racing community does not necessarily mean that the choice is not there. In actuality, few of the stakes horsemen at YA-WET-AG live apart from the racing community. Most of the distinctions between the claiming horsemen and the stakes horsemen are based on the differences in the incomes of the two groups. Consequently, most of the stakes horsemen are accepted as full-time members of the racing community. However, the stakes horsemen are freer to move and to interact at will, whereas claiming horsemen are less able to do so.

Although the claiming horsemen are the vast majority of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG, the important variable is the degree of autonomy that is present for each group. The claiming horsemen are the least autonomous and this lack of independence is reflected in their life style. However, the basis for both the degree of autonomy and the nature of the life style of each group is based primarily on the financial status of the group members. The claiming horsemen are dependent upon the social organization of the track, because they lack the money necessary to escape it.

Money is a significant concern for the members of this group. These are the people who are most likely to fail as horsemen. These are the men who are the most likely to see racing per se as a business and less as a sport. It is within this group that the importance of money as a standard for differentiating people is most widely accepted. Indeed, it is the claiming horsemen who almost daily claim that "You have to have money to make money."

CHAPTER VII: OCCUPATIONAL RISK AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Occupational Risk and Techniques of Social Control

Horse racing as an occupation is risky. Many thoroughbred race horses are erratic animals. The history of the track is filled with stories of horses that have won as many as seven races in a row and then never won again. Even the horse that has won large purses in one year is not a sure winner to repeat or even to perform respectably during the following season. One horse that races at YA-WET-AG won \$300,000 during the 1970 racing season. By late June of 1971, the horse had yet to win a single race. In fact, the horse finished less and less close to the winner in each succeeding race.

Accidents and injuries are always problems in horse racing. A serious injury to a horse may mean as much as six months to a year when the horse cannot race. During such periods the small horseman, especially, is without an important source of income. Accidents can devastate an entire stable and a racing career in a matter of hours. In a recent fire one owner-trainer lost eleven of his twenty-eight horses; another lost seventeen of his eighteen horses (Grisham, 1971). One horseman who has experienced one tornado and two fires in the last five years describes the impact of such disasters on his racing career:

The Lincoln fire wiped me out, except for one horse.
The New England HBPA loaned me \$300 and I got \$2000
off Mr. B.A. Dario, the track president. Everyone

knew I had only one horse left. I figured, out of sympathy, no one would claim him, so I ran him for about half what he was worth. I took \$1,000 of Mr. Dario's money and bet it on the colt. He won at 3-to-1 enabling me to get enough money to stay in the horse business. And would you believe it? Someone claimed that one remaining horse? (Grisham, 1971: 3)

The uncertainty of horse racing plays an important part in the lives and thought patterns of the claiming horsemen. It is the claiming horsemen who stand to lose their entire careers from accidents, injuries or from the erratic performance of their entries. The stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists are in financial positions where such insecurities are of less concern. It is primarily within the claiming horsemen group that one finds the greatest uncertainty in the racing industry.

In high risk situations people develop means of social control to give the situation a sense of certainty. It is unimportant whether the techniques used to control the social situation do in fact control it. The importance of the techniques of social control in high risk social situations is that the techniques aid to define the situation for the participants and to aid their social psychological stability. Among others, Malinowski (1954) found such techniques of social control to be important in many cultures.

We find magic wherever the elements of change and accident, and the emotional play between hope and fear have a wide and extensive range. We do not find magic wherever the pursuit is certain, reliable, and well under the control of rational methods. (Malinowski, 1954: 139-140)

The types of technique may vary from group to group or even within groups, but the intent for the use of techniques of control is the same

in all groups. Unstructured social settings and situations are given structure by the participants. If the lack of structure is due to the unpredictability of the social situation, then patterns of predictability emerge to provide the setting with some degree of certainty.

At YA-WET-AG several techniques of social control are used by the horsemen. Some horsemen feel that wearing yellow on the day that their horses are running is bad luck. Others refuse to eat peanuts in the alleyways within the stables, because such a practice can cause bad luck. In another case, a horseman's wife was asked who would ride her husband's horse in the next race. She stated that her husband "didn't like to say too far before the race; it was bad luck."

Other highly unpredictable occupations are also characterized by similar taboos. The importance of the taboo practices becomes most apparent when the actions of the same people are compared in both unpredictable and predictable situations. Gmelch (1971), in his study of magic in baseball, found that taboo practices are limited to only the unpredictable elements of the game.

Everyone knows that there are three essentials of baseball - hitting, pitching and fielding. The point is, however, that the first two, hitting and pitching, involve a high degree of chance. (Gmelch, 1971: 39)

Consequently, the taboos of baseball are associated with hitting and pitching. Some baseball taboos vary with the individual. For example, Gmelch notes that as a baseball player he refused to eat pancakes for breakfast during the baseball season. This individual inhibition resulted from two experiences in which he had eaten pancakes for breakfast and had gone hitless in the following games. There are

more general and traditional taboos associated with the baseball world.

Mentioning that a no-hitter is in progress and crossing baseball bats are the two most widely observed taboos. It is believed that if the pitcher hears the words "no-hitter" his spell will be broken and the no-hitter lost. As for the crossing of bats, that is sure to bring bad luck; batters are therefore extremely careful not to drop their bats on top of another. Some players elaborate this taboo even further. On one occasion a teammate became quite upset when another player tossed a bat from the batting cage and it came to rest on top of his. Later he explained that the top bat would steal hits from the lower one. For him, then, bats contain a finite number of hits, a kind of baseball "image of limited good." (Gmelch, 1971: 41)

This phenomenon is present at the track as well. Some horses are perceived as able to produce a limited number of wins in the course of a racing season, regardless of the competition. One trainer at YA-WET-AG told me that a particular horse was good for seven races and then it needed a rest. He claimed that the horse got bored with running after seven races. He felt that other horses needed to race very often to keep their competitive spirit.

The effect of such a perspective is to give the horse a personality. By imposing a personality on the horse, the trainer can explain the successes and failures of the horse. Horses that lose races in the final stretch are considered uncompetitive or they do not want to win. Horsemen are continually searching for horses that like to race and that want to be winners. One horseman at YA-WET-AG believed once his previously unsuccessful horse won a race that it would continue to win. He claimed that if the horse experienced victory, then the horse would want to repeat as a winner.

When race horses are perceived to have personalities, the erratic

nature of the animals can also be explained. The horse that "dies," loses on the home stretch, is a lazy animal. The horse that always finishes well in the stakes races is seen as preferring high quality competition. This is of particular importance in decisions concerning the buying or selling of horses. Many horsemen refuse to buy a horse until they have seen it race. The rationale is that many horses possess the physical characteristics that are valued in a race horse, but unless the horse "wants" to win, it is nothing more than a beautiful animal.

Other practices are often engaged in by the horsemen to help their horses in a race. Some horsemen feel that betting on the entry gives the animal a sense of confidence in its ability to win. The bet is a manifestation of the trainer's support and backing of the horse. Others feel that betting on their entries puts the animals at an undue disadvantage. The animals "sense" the increased pressure to win due to the trainers' bets.

Usually, rituals grow out of exceptionally good performances. When the player does well he cannot really attribute his success to skill alone. He plays with the same amount of skill one night when he gets four hits as the next night when he goes hitless. Through magic, such as ritual, the player seeks greater control over his performance, actually control over the elements of chance. The player, knowing that his ability is fairly constant, attributes the inconsistencies in his performance to some form of behavior or a particular food that he ate. (Gmelch, 1971: 40)

The desire to control the unpredictable elements of baseball through ritual is also a part of the racing industry. While giving the horse a personality, other techniques may be used to control

the horse's performance. For example, while a horse is winning, the trainer often uses the same jockey, the same galloper and follows the same feeding and training routine until the horse loses. After the horse loses the trainer will often change his training patterns in an attempt to bring back the horse's luck.

More direct techniques of social control are used by the horsemen in other situations. It is not uncommon for a horseman to enter two horses in one race; this is known as coupling the horses. This practice gives the horseman a better chance of winning, but it also gives the horseman greater control over the outcome of the race. Usually, one of the coupled horses will race to the front of the pack at the beginning of the race. By setting a fast pace at the beginning, the trainer hopes to tire the other entrants. Using this strategy, the horseman holds the second horse to a slower pace so that by the end of the race the second horse can pass the other entries and win.

There is, however, a counterstrategy for dealing with the technique of coupling. One counterstrategy is to enter three horses in the race. Two of the horses are used to tire the two entries of the opposing stable and the third horse is supposed to win the race. A more common approach at YA-WET-AG was for several stables to team together in an effort to disrupt the coupling strategy. When this strategy is used, one horse goes quickly to the lead, setting a very fast pace. This means that the coupled horses must stay close enough to the leader to overtake it. When the lead horse tires, another horse takes the lead, setting an equally fast pace. The result of such a practice is to

tire the coupled horses so that they are not in a position to win the race as planned. It is not uncommon in such a race for a "long-shot" entry to win over the higher quality entries.

Other devices, such as electrically charged whips, are used to train horses. By using the electrically charged whip, known as a "machine," the trainer attempts to condition the horse to run faster when the whip is applied without the electrical charge during the race. On occasion the machine is used in races. Although its use is illegal, most of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG feel that machines are used on all of the horses entered in the larger stakes races. In discussing one stakes race at YA-WET-AG, one horseman told me, "I'd say there were about ten machines in that race." The other horsemen agreed. The consensus of the horsemen on the use of the machine in this particular race is important because there were only ten horses in the race.

Because horse races are extremely unpredictable, patterns or techniques for the control of the races emerge. The techniques vary from the use of ritual and taboo to the use of the coupling strategy and machines, but the ultimate goal is the same. The horsemen are able to explain and, to some extent, control the chance elements of the business. Such practices are not, however, exclusive to horse racing. Gmelch (1971) found similar practices among baseball players. The practices are, however, limited to only the unpredictable aspects of the game: hitting and pitching. Fielding, which is highly predictable and routine, has no rituals or taboos associated with it. Given the findings of both this study and Gmelch's study, it appears

that techniques of social control are an important facet of social organization. The nature and types of control techniques are, however, variable from social setting to social setting, depending upon the structure of the situation and the nature of the participants.

Supernatural and Rational Control

Two types of control techniques are present within the racing community: supernatural and rational controls. Supernatural social control is maintained by the practice of rituals and taboos that are perceived to influence the social setting. Rational social control is direct involvement in the social setting. The direct involvement is designed to alter the unpredictability in the social situation. Consequently, not eating peanuts in the alleyways of the stables is an attempt at supernatural control. Whereas using a machine in a race is an example of rational control.

The degree to which members of a group depend upon either technique of social control is dependent upon the nature of the social setting. The game of pool is a highly predictable activity in which skill is the primary determinant of the outcome.

... any pool or billiard game is overwhelmingly a game of skill rather than luck--even in the chanciest type of poolroom game the element of skill counts for much more than in any card game whatsoever--and this means it is possible to rate the skill levels of various players (to "handicap" them) along small gradations with a high degree of accuracy. For example, if one has seen the three-cushion billiard players of X and Y play various people over a period of time, it is possible to arrive at the judgment, "On a 30-point game, X is two or three points better than Y" and to be dead right about it in at least eight out of ten contests between them.
(Polsky, 1969: 43)

Because the game of pool is structured around playing skill and not luck, patterns of supernatural control are not appropriate. There are few taboos or rituals associated with pool playing. Instead, pool players depend on rational social control of the game.

Perhaps the group most concerned with controlling the social setting surrounding the pool game is the pool hustler. The goal of hustlers is to win large amounts of money from their opponents by getting their opposition to bet significant amounts of money on each game. In winning the money, the hustlers must minimize the element of chance in order to win consistently, while, at the same time, not winning by too many points so that the opponent will continue to play. In establishing the social situation pool hustlers depend upon their skills as pool players, and also on their skills at "conning."

However, one structural feature of pool or billiards readily lends itself to deceit: on each shot, the difference between success and failure is a matter of a small fraction of an inch. In pool or billiards it is peculiarly easy, even for the average player, to miss one's shot deliberately and still look good (unlike, say, nearly all card games, where if one does not play one's cards correctly this is soon apparent). On all shots except the easiest ones, it is impossible to tell if a player is deliberately not trying his best. (Polsky, 1969: 41)

Rules and practices are present in the argot of the pool hustlers that serve to control the pool game. These rules and practices act as rational means or techniques to control the social situation.

The groups more likely to utilize the rational techniques of control at the race track are the racing hobbyists and the stakes horsemen. These two groups will likely use the machine on their horses

or to use the coupling strategy. Such techniques are important to the racing hobbyists and the stakes horsemen because of the nature of the races that they enter.

More important than the size of the purses is the quality of the competition. Thoroughbred race horses are erratic, but the higher quality horses are usually the least erratic. Consequently, the elements of talent, skill and ability are more important in the stakes races than the claiming races. Because the owners and trainers of the stakes horses know that luck is a less important factor, they are less dependent on supernatural techniques for controlling the situation. Instead, these people are more likely to use more rational means.

One rational technique used by the stakes horsemen is to prepare their horses for future important races. If a horse is scheduled to run in an important race, the trainer often enters the horse in a less significant stakes race to prepare it for the upcoming big race. This gives the trainer a chance to observe the horse in action to detect any possible injuries and it helps to keep the horse in condition. There is very little risk involved in this practice, because the trainer has no intention of winning the preparatory race anyway.

While elite stables will frequently win allowance races under the circumstances just described, they often hopelessly lose such races, even when their horses are odds-on favorites. In such races, the headliner merely intends to give the horse a prep for a big race and not to win. (Usually the jockey is told that under no circumstances is he to use the whip). (Scott, 1968: 63)

A second means of rational control used by the stakes horsemen and the racing hobbyists is to control the distance by which their horses

win. Few of these horsemen like to see their horses win by wide margins. Instead, they prefer that their horses come from the back of the pack and win at the end of the race. The preference is grounded in the fact that many of the races involving large purses are handicap races. The distinguishing feature about the handicap races is that each horse carries a different amount of weight. The horses that are judged of highest quality are given the greatest weight to carry. The ideal of the handicapper is to assign enough weight to each horse so that all of the entries will finish the race at the same time.

The handicapper is seldom successful in his attempt and part of his difficulty stems from the fact that the horsemen actively work to keep their horses from winning by such large margins that they will be assigned significantly higher weights than other entries. This is even true for the running of the handicap race itself. Although the horsemen try to win the race, they do not want to run away with the race or their horse will be assigned too much weight for the next handicap race.

The problem of the trainer then is to win without his horse looking too good. In a big race, the trainer will never tell the jockey to "get out and win the race and don't look back." If a horse wins a handicap race easily, it will be severely penalized in future weight assignments. Thus the strategy is to win with a horse by a short margin. Since it is difficult to control the winning distance of a front-running animal, headliners prefer to run from off the pace, and sometimes from far off the pace. (Scott, 1968: 60)

The claiming horsemen are more likely to depend on supernatural techniques of control. They are the group most likely to be racing erratic animals. Rational techniques of control may not be effective

with such animals. Often there is no factual explanation for the performance of a claiming horse. It is not uncommon for several claiming horses to be matched in several races together with no clearly discernable superiority by any one horse emerging.

Consequently, claiming horsemen are more likely to look for explanations other than those of ability and skill. Often they look for excuses rather than real explanations. Scott (1968) claims that many trainers are not really interested in realistic explanations, but depend on the jockeys to provide excuses that explain the horses' performance in a superficial way.

Let me emphasize that when the trainer asks the jockey why his horse lost what was to be a winning race, the trainer doesn't want the truth, he wants reasonable-
ness. If the jockey wishes to ride for this trainer again, he will fashion an appropriate excuse: that he was bumped on the turn, that the horse stumbled at the start, or was caught flat-footed when the gate opened, and so forth. These accounts are reasonable; for in every race most horses have some mishaps. The jockey is not entirely lying, merely exaggerating the difficulty to give an account that will help the trainer save face. (Scott, 1968: 69)

Another approach is to become concerned with variables which are directly associated with the race such as the color of the trainer's shirt, the color and design of the silks worn by the jockey and so forth. If the horse wins two or three races when the trainer is wearing a green shirt, then the shirt is lucky. If the horse loses when the trainer is wearing his lucky green shirt, then he looks for something else with which to control the situation.

Simply, the differences in the type of techniques used by the claiming and stakes horsemen are directly related to the degree of

intervention that each group possesses. The stakes horsemen are in a better position to intervene in the running of the race, because they own horses of higher quality that perform more consistently. They are also in a better position to pick the type of races that they want to enter. The claiming horsemen, on the other hand, have less power of intervention in the race. Their horses are of less quality and more erratic. Also, they are more likely to have to race their horses in only certain types of races which give less return on the horse's performance.

Although the claiming horsemen have less power of intervention, they do use those rational techniques of control that are available to them. Some claiming horsemen enter their horses in races that are above their entry's quality. This practice serves two basic functions. First, it protects the horse from being claimed, since the claiming price is higher than the horse's value. Secondly, it keeps the horse in condition for entry into races that it can win.

The distinction between types of control techniques and racing groups is one of degree. There are both supernatural and rational control techniques used in both groups, but the distinction is significant because each group emphasizes one technique over the other.

Occupational Risk and the Belief in Luck

It has been a long-standing belief in American society that those who work hard and live the frugal life will someday be rewarded for their perseverance in the form of financial success. Perhaps, the basis for this belief is the general acceptance of the Protestant

ethic by the American people. Weber (1930) contends that the religiously based ideas of Calvinist Protestantism complement the needs and demands of developing capitalism. In the Weberian thesis, the Calvinist belief in the value of hard work and thrift are the values that facilitate the growth of modern capitalism.

From such a value context arose the American version of the "rags-to-riches" story. The most famous popular exponent of this view was Horatio Alger (Wohl, 1966). Written in the nineteenth century, Alger's work consisted of a series of children's stories about the problems of the young, rural man's struggle to achieve success within the strange and sometimes immoral world of the city. Alger's stories emphasized the importance of hard work, thrift and the values of middle-class America as keys to getting ahead in the world.

Today, the basic message of Alger has been modified. Alger was writing about and to the rural youth who were moving to the city. Today, most Americans are urbanites. The contemporary version of the "rags-to-riches" story claims that the key to getting out of the ghetto and into "the good life" is to work hard and save money, but, also, getting ahead involves an extended period of formal education. With the increased complexity of American life, many believe the old-fashioned virtues to be important, but insufficient. Ritzer (1972), for example, claims that the day of the mail clerk working his way to the top of an organization is gone.

Assuming that such an assertion is correct about most occupations,

there is still at least one occupation in America that offers a young man an opportunity to realize the "rags-to-riches" dream. The history of horse racing is filled with tales of men who have risen from a childhood condition of poverty to important and wealthy positions as horsemen. Such stories are not always folklore; indeed, some are true. The people who accomplish these extraordinary feats of upward mobility are given a very special place in the racing community.

One of the "rags-to-riches" horsemen describes his childhood in this manner:

My mother, three brothers and sister were in desperate circumstances. I'd always loved horses and so when it became essential for me to earn money to help support the family, I got a job walking "hots"..... (Phillips, 1971: 7)

His love of horses and his perserverance were eventually rewarded in the form of a successful career as one of the winningest trainers in the country. He is now described in this way:

Every season he manages to tiptoe into New York unheralded and leaves in the same fashion ... no fuss, no muss, just the quiet swishing of folding money as it enters the wallet. (American Turf Monthly, 1971: 30)

The belief in the possibility of moving up in horse racing is enhanced by the life story of the winningest trainer in the history of American horse racing. He, too, began his career as a poor man, but by slowly working his way up the horse-racing ladder, he was able to reap his financial and social reward. For example, he collected more than three million dollars in earnings from horse racing during the 1968, 1969, and 1970 racing seasons (Daily Racing Form, 1971). In fact,

his earnings rose from one thousand and sixty dollars in 1937 to a world record mark of nearly one and a half million dollars in 1969 (Daily Racing Form, 1971).

Even though few of the horsemen realize the success of the two trainers just discussed, the stories surrounding their lives serve very real functions in the racing community. The first function of these stories is related to the backgrounds of the racing men; most of the people who enter horse racing as a full-time vocation are less than affluent. They begin as hot walkers, gallopers or possibly as apprentice jockeys; nevertheless, they begin with a minimum of financial reserve. The "rags-to-riches" stories offer an incentive to the novice horsemen. Even though the occupation is risky and demands a lengthy apprenticeship, the stories, usually mythical in character, of spectacular successes offer encouragement needed to accept the risks and sacrifices that are part of the job.

Secondly, the stories function to keep the large mass of unsuccessful horsemen in the business. Many trainers firmly believe that if they could only find a big winner, affluence will necessarily follow. Such beliefs are reinforced by the fact that such occurrences do sometimes happen, although they are more often an exaggeration of selected cases.

One trainer, for example, was asked if his horse was tiring from the strain of the racing campaign. He responded:

I wouldn't do anything wrong with this colt, 'cause he's my meal ticket. I've never had it so good since I've been training him and I think he's good enough to win some money for all of us. (Carrol, 1971a: 5)

The impact of this belief on the horsemen is profound. The belief in the possibility of finding a rainbow right around the corner keeps many men in the business. I was often told by claiming horsemen of how they have nearly quit the business, but there was always the possibility that the great horse, and consequent life of affluence and fame, was there if only they were willing to wait for it.

One trainer at YA-WET-AG finally sold his entire stock at the request of his wife, but before they had left the track to go home, he had purchased another horse. Although his wife threatened to leave him, he was undaunted, because he "knew" that someday he would make it big like the successful horsemen who preceded him.

Although the horsemen emphasize the "rags-to-riches" aspect of Alger's stories, they do not emphasize means to success that were outlined by Alger. Hard work and frugality are recognized as admirable qualities, but many of the horsemen do not practice either virtue.

Drinking is a popular activity with many of the racing community; many of the horsemen spend nearly every evening in the bars which surround the racing facility. I was told by one trainer that, "this is the first morning in a long time I haven't had a headache from drinking." Drinking is so popular that it is not uncommon for horsemen to check to make sure certain jockeys are sober before betting on them.

Many of the conversations of the horsemen center around the drinking activities of various members of the racing community. One jockey received particular notoriety because he spent all of his racing earnings on "women and booze." Consequently, he spent the next

winter exercising horses to meet his expenses. Two other jockeys were suspended for appearing for a race while drunk. In another case, a jockey's agent was known for the poolroom brawls which he had started while he was drunk.

Another popular activity is gambling. Aside from the obvious gambling opportunities offered by the track, many participate in the various poker games that are found around the track. Gambling is popular enough that some horsemen make frequent trips to Las Vegas to gamble.

The gambling and drinking activities of the horsemen are indicative of the fatalistic orientation of many of the claiming horsemen. Many of the less affluent horsemen feel that they have little or no chance of ever making a great deal of money through hard work and thrift. This feeling is expressed overtly by spending large sums of money on alcohol and gambling. This attitude is summed up by a comment by a claiming horseman, "Gamblin' and drinkin' and if they don't gitcha, women will. Ain't gotta chance."

The fatalism of the racing world is augmented by the fact that hard work and thrift are not qualities that are associated with racing success. The usual way to attain success is by finding a horse of such quality that the owner, and usually the owner is a trainer, can build a large stable on his increased income.

In many ways this is a false search. There simply are not very many outstanding horses to be discovered. Beyond the scarcity of quality horses is the fact that most quality horses are noted for

their consistency and not for their dominance of the sport. For this reason, the search for the big winner is often futile.

A second reason for the futility of the search is associated with the relative monopoly of quality horses owned by the stakes horsemen and the wealthier racing hobbyists. There are only a few surprise winners available for the claiming horsemen to discover. Consequently, there is very little chance that any single claiming horseman will find a big winner.

Given these circumstances, it is relatively unimportant whether or not the claiming horsemen save their money. The chances are good that the discovery of a quality horse will have nothing to do with how they spend their money. The chances are even greater that they will never find the horse of their dreams.

The total concern of the horsemen is not, however, on economic matters and money. Horse racing is a sport; this dimension of the racing industry has ramifications for the horsemen, as well.

Sport as Risk

Ned Polsky (1969), in his study of pool hustlers, notes that the thrill of winning is based largely on the spirit of competition. It is as true of horse racers as pool hustlers. Many of the men and women who follow the racing circuit are capable of making as much or more money at more conventional occupations. Racing offers the suspense of competition and the occasional thrill of winning which are not available in more conventional jobs with stable incomes. Witness the "easy-come-easy-go" attitudes just discussed.

Further, the competition ethic is so great that it is reflected in the recreational patterns of many of the horsemen. Instead of spending their days off away from the track and horse racing, many of the horsemen travel as much as one hundred miles to attend another racing meet.

Racing offers two rewards that are not directly related to economic rewards: the excitement of the contest and the exhilaration of winning. Coupled with these rewards are the economic possibilities which accompany success.

As McDonald (1960) states:

There are some 25,000 horses in the U.S. competing for \$85 million in purses, which in the aggregate is just about enough to pay for their upkeep--but not enough, in general, to recover all the owner's capital costs. And so racing is scarcely a good commercial proposition, except to a minority that is very good at it, or very lucky, or in a high tax bracket. In effect, a substantial amount of racing is "subsidized" by a large number of small owners -- they constitute perhaps a third of all the owners -- who come in for fun, lose, and leave, and by a small number of large owners who are in the game to stay and take losses (and income-tax deductions) when they have to. It is clear that the high passion of man to associate himself with the myth of greatness in a racehorse ... is not exactly reducible to ordinary business concepts. (McDonald, 1960: 159)

Conclusion

Horse racing, as an occupation, is characterized by a high degree of chance and risk, and these characteristics have ramifications for the social and social psychological organization of the track. First, the elements of chance and risk encourage the development of techniques for the control of social situations. The techniques are used

to influence the outcome of situations.

Secondly, the various techniques utilized by the various groups that make up the social organization are reflections of the position of each group. The most powerful and influential groups have the greatest access to the control of the situation, and are, therefore, most likely to intervene in a rational way. The less powerful and influential groups are more likely to depend upon supernatural intervention into the social situation. One way of classifying the groups which make up the social organization of the race track is in terms of the nature and types of control techniques that are utilized by each group.

Thirdly, the high degree of chance and risk in the occupation encourages the development of a social psychological view that stresses a fatalistic orientation over an orientation of active participation. Again, the degree to which each group stresses the element of luck is reflective of the position of that group. The more powerful groups are least likely to have a fatalistic orientation and are more likely to see themselves as having a greater impact on the social situation. The less powerful are the most likely members of the community to feel that they and their actions have little consequence on the structure and results of the social situation. Therefore, it is this group that is most likely to have a fatalistic perspective.

Finally, the elements of chance and risk are an inherent part of the occupation and represent an important part of its appeal. The competition ethic is central to the organization of the racing community,

as well as a central factor in motivating individuals to continue their occupational efforts.

Although the social organization of the race track is characterized by attempts to control the outcome of the social situation, the elements of chance and risk are sufficiently pervasive to negate many of the attempts at control. It is this factor that makes horse racing a sport.

There are other factors that are characteristic of the horse racing industry, as well. The factors also have implications for the larger social organization. One of the more important is the transient nature of the occupation which we will consider in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VIII: HORSEMEN AS OCCUPATIONAL NOMADS

Mobility and American Society

The urge to move has been a basic feature of American life since the landing of the first European settlers. For Americans, migration is not a dreaded event nor an unhappy consequence or solution to otherwise insoluble problems. Instead, American migration is the manifestation of the American belief in the ever-present existence of new opportunities. Migration, socially approved and sometimes encouraged, is a means to new opportunities. Put more formally, migration is an institutionalized means for achieving a portion of the cultural goals of American society.

If students of the American character can agree upon any one thing, it is that the compulsion to move about has created a nation of restless wanderers unlike any other in the world. The people are forever on the go. They cross from place to place in a room, drive unbelievable distances to consume a meal that they could have obtained nearer to home, travel interminably by car to country clubs where they transfer to electric carts from which they emerge occasionally to swat a golf ball, and seemingly spend half their lives in automobiles waiting for traffic jams to clear. They squander their vacations by hurrying to distant points and hurrying home again. They shift from country to town, from town to suburb, and from suburb to country. They abandon one home for another with such predictable frequency that bank statements and dividend checks include for convenience a change of address card. When the fever strikes, the American goes, indifferent to the risks and scornful of that attachment to place that restrains the European. (Billington, 1966: 181)

Few Americans are immune from the migratory processes of American life. In 1961, over twenty per cent of the American population changed residences. More than six per cent of those who moved in 1961 re-located beyond the county of their former residence (Billington, 1966).

Put in another way, in the single year 1961 no less than 35.5 million people shifted from one house to another. If these figures are projected over a decade, the results are even more startling. Of the 176 million people living in the United States at the end of the 1950s, only 30 million had lived in the same house for twenty years, and no less than 82 million had changed residence during the past decade. (Billington, 1966: 183)

American mobility represents a dynamic element in our society. Implicit in American migration is an emphasis on hope and change. The very act of relocating involves a hope in the future and a desire for personal and social change. But migration involves more than the desire for change; it is an American means of seeking and causing basic change for the individual and for the larger society.

The American social order can be compared to a pot of boiling water, filled with particles moving up and down, to and fro, in a constant state of agitation. The heat keeping these particles in motion is the opportunity for self-improvement; where gain beckons, men go. (Billington, 1966: 185)

Geographic mobility has been as important an influence on the development of the American character and life style as the emphasis placed on financial success and upward mobility. Few groups or individuals move for no other reason than just to move. Instead, most Americans are mobile because they realize upward mobility entails migration. The desire for financial improvement and the tradition of migration act as complementary forces in the lives of most Americans.

The combined forces of the desire for financial success and the willingness to move to attain financial improvement have helped to produce a migratory American life style. For those who are down and out, relocation offers a hope for a fresh start and a second chance at affluence. Others, who have attained a higher degree of affluence, find that relocation to another area, such as the suburbs, is an important indicator of social position and a necessary consequence of moving up. Migration is an anticipated event for these people; it is part of being a truly successful American.

Other Americans have found it advantageous to move in an effort to escape an intolerable social situation. The early Puritan settlers found migration to be the answer to their problem of European religious intolerance. By settling on a distant and isolated continent, the Puritans were able to minimize the impact of those who opposed them. The Mormons also found migration to be a solution to religious intolerance. The mountainous terrain of Utah offered the isolation needed to build and sustain the Mormon life.*

Migration has been so important a force in American society that many groups find exile to be a viable solution to intracommunity conflict. The Puritans effectively used exile as a judicial technique

*Although a significant number of Americans claim that one cannot escape his problems by running away, historically Americans have often found running away to be a most desirable course of action. It is not surprising, then, that so many contemporary malcontents in American society find refuge in remote and isolated regions far from the great population centers. The escape of many of the hippies to the forests of California or to the mountainous regions of Colorado and New Mexico is well within the American tradition.

in ridding the community of the heretical teachings of Roger Williams and Ann Hutcheson (Erickson, 1966). The "casting-out" approach to the administration of justice has become a common part of the folklore of the old West. Western stories abound with situations where the sheriff informs a dangerous personality to "be out of town by sundown."

The emphasis placed on geographic movement has influenced the nature of the American people, as well. Tocqueville (1945) noted the migratory style of Americans, but he found that geographic mobility involves more than mere physical relocation. Migration involves giving up old friendships and communal ties, as well as joining a new community with new traditions and communal concerns.

This occurred not through actual migration, which was a short-term process, but because of strains created by departure from a familiar environment and adjustment to an unfamiliar environment. The severing of family and community ties changed behavioral patterns in individuals, just as did the requirements of adapting to the new community in which they settled; pioneers dovetail into an unfamiliar system of role and status, a new leadership structure, and a changed system of values than the one to which they had been accustomed.... This turbulence engendered a social environment unlike that of any other section, and from this stemmed--in part at least--alterations in the traits of the people. (Billington, 1966: 193)

Frederic Jackson Turner (1920) argued that much of the uniqueness of the American character stems from the movement to open the frontier. The demands of the frontier life required the development of an individual and value structure that reflected the individualism, self-reliance and the equality of the frontier.

Although the migratory tradition remains strong, contemporary Americans--especially groups such as horsemen--are often apt to be

variation of the gypsy or to be the nomads of American society.

The movement of gypsies and pariah peoples, because they bring about no important changes in cultural life, are to be regarded rather as a geographical fact than a social phenomenon. Nomadic life is stabilized on the basis of movement, and even though gypsies now travel by automobile, they still maintain, comparatively unchanged, their ancient organization and customs. The result is that their relation to the communities in which they may at any time be found is to be described as symbiotic rather than social. (Park, 1928: 887)

In distinguishing between migration and nomadic movement, Park has emphasized the relationship between the community and the nomadic group. Consequently, Park has stressed the stable element of the relationship. It is true that nomadic groups have little effect on the communities that they frequent, but movement, be it migration or nomadic travels, involves process and change. Because a nomadic group has little impact on the community does not mean that change is not taking place within the nomadic group.*

Again, America is not devoid of a tradition of nomadic groups. The cowboy and the miner of the old West were often a product of the nomadic life. Similarly, the riders of the pony express were a nomadic occupational group.

The entertainment industry has facilitated the presence of nomads in America. Professional entertainers often speak of the series of "one night stands" that must be endured during the early part of a

*The presence and importance of stability and change as simultaneous forces and processes in the nomadic life will not be discussed here, but will be a central part of the next chapter.

career. Other entertainments, such as the circus, rodeo, or carnival, also are highly nomadic occupations.

A new form of American nomad has arisen since the development of mechanized travel and transport. The truck driver is one type of nomad who has emerged as a social type reflecting the development of American technology. Unlike other forms of travel, such as the airplane, trucks are not fast enough to travel from coast to coast in one day. The long distance trucker is, then, directly or indirectly linked to his truck at all times while on the road. The connection between man and machine is so great for the truck driver that many truckers sleep in the trucks.

Another occupational group of nomads resulting from the growth of American technology was the railroad man of the pre-World War II era. Although all the people associated with railroads were not highly mobile, a significant number of them were. In most cases, this involved being "on the road" for several days at a time. Cottrell (1940) has found that the nomadic nature of the railroading occupation had social implications that went beyond the occupational sphere of the men's lives.

The hobo is also an American nomad. The wanderings of the hobo from place to place and from job to job have produced an alternative American life style to that of the more conventional work-a-day world. However, the hobo cannot be classified with the truck driver, transient entertainer or the railroader as an occupational nomad, because his movement is not directly linked to a single occupation.

In other words, the entertainer, truck driver and railroader are transient because of their work. The hobo's work, on the other hand, is a consequence and product of his transiency.*

Transiency and the Race Track

Racing men form a significant transient occupational group within American society. Not only do the horsemen move frequently, but many are away from home for long periods of time. One trainer at YA-WET-AG had not been home for more than eighteen months and he did not plan to return for another six months.

The transient nature of the occupation is most dramatic among the stakes horsemen. Many stakes horsemen find it advantageous to race their horses at several tracks simultaneously, often thousands of miles apart. These men may travel several thousand miles in the course of a normal racing week. One trainer at YA-WET-AG races at tracks in Mexico as well as at several in the United States. The same trainer approaches racing much as he would a franchised business. His stable is organized into divisions. Each division is located at one major track, and the horses in each division are raced primarily at the track in which they are stabled. Disbanding a division of the stable is very much like liquidating a franchise.

Most likely the ___ silks of the ___ stable will not be raced here, or not on such a large scale as in the

*This is not to suggest that the occupational nomad and the hobo cannot be compared. Indeed, comparative analysis of the occupational nomad with the non-occupational nomad would be helpful in differentiating the impact of transiency from the impact of occupational variables in the social organization of such groups.

past. This morning _____ flew into the [city] and has taken a major step toward disbanding the stable here.... Many of the horses trained here ... were sold this morning in private transactions and others are ticketed to be vanned to [YA-WET-AG]. [His] arrival and the resultant sale took everyone here by surprise. Plans for the continuation of a division here are not solidified, but it would seem that it is extremely doubtful. (Carroll, 1971b: 5)

The claiming horsemen, though less dramatically mobile, are highly nomadic as well. Even the stables that race in only a three or four state area will travel hundreds of miles between racing meets.

One factor facilitating mobility by the horsemen is that each track varies with regard to the type and quality of horses that compete there. For example, YA-WET-AG accepts only race horses that are valued at two thousand dollars or more. One owner-trainer has his stable located less than one mile from the YA-WET-AG racing facility, yet he cannot race his horses at the meet. Because none of his horses are worth two thousand dollars, he must travel fifty miles to the nearest track that will accept horses of his quality.

Mobility is also encouraged through the cooperative advertising that takes place among racing tracks. Whenever a racing meet is about to open, the officials of YA-WET-AG make the information available to all interested parties. Often the smaller tracks have difficulty in getting a sufficient number of entries in their races. When this occurs, the plight of the small track is publicly announced to the contestants at YA-WET-AG.

Many of the claiming horsemen take advantage of such information and leave the YA-WET-AG meet before its conclusion. On other occasions,

a trainer who is consistently losing will be encouraged by his peers to move on and try another track.

Jockeys are equally transient. It is not uncommon for a jockey to race at more than one track at the same time. Many jockeys use the two nonracing days at YA-WET-AG to travel to other tracks to pick up extra earnings. One jockey regularly travels to another track, about five hundred miles from YA-WET-AG, to race each Sunday and Monday.

Stability in the Transient World*

Because of the transient nature of horse racing, a particular social organization develops to meet the needs and desires of the horsemen. The same is true of other transient groups. Frequent or continuous mobility, however, does not mean that there is no stability within the nomadic world. Instead, nomads develop a life style that provides some degree of stability and order for the individual. Consequent with the emergence of the transient life style is the development of highly mobile businesses and nomadic institutions to meet the needs and desires of the nomadic population.

Perhaps the most obvious indicator of the transient nature of the horse racing occupation is the presence of a large number of mobile homes and pick-up campers that are found in and around the race track.

*The rest of this chapter and the next chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the organizational consequences of transiency. In addition to published material, I will draw from some informal and unsystematic recollections that I gathered while employed at a truck-stop during part of my undergraduate years.

Many horsemen find the mobile home to be the most economical living unit available, but the mobile homes and the campers are more than just economic units. They are a source of stability in a world of relatively constant physical and social change.

As an occupation, horse racing, as we have learned, is highly unstable. Little of what the horsemen own is permanently located at a particular place. The barns that they house their horses in change every time they move to another track. The conditions of each track are also different. The physical organization of each track varies, as does the quality of the competition. Similarly, the racing public changes from track to track and region to region. In fact, the claiming horsemen cannot even depend on maintaining a stable stock of horses, because every horse run in a claiming race can be purchased.

The mobile home is one source of stability for the horsemen. The mobile home is one place to which the horsemen can return to find a world that is relatively unchanging and to which he can "belong." The mobile home is, then, a home away from a sometimes non-existent home for the horsemen.

Not all horsemen live in mobile homes, however. Consequently, the YA-WET-AG track is surrounded by trailer parks which rent trailers and apartments that are available on a short term basis. The off-track living units are not, however, inhabited by horsemen exclusively. Most of the landlords view the racing meet as a time to supplement incomes received from long term rentals. Consequently, those horsemen who must live in off-track facilities find that they must pay a

significantly higher rent than the long-term residents. One trailer park near the track charges five hundred and fifty dollars a month for a small, used trailer.

Many of the younger and single horsemen live in small rooms that are provided by the track. Many of the younger gallopers, walkers, and grooms are housed in tack rooms, because the track provides the areas at no charge. However, many of the tack room residents express considerable discontent with the lack of privacy available in the stables. In fact, many live in the tack rooms until they are able to accumulate enough money to move to an off-track residence.

Since many horsemen do not have cooking facilities in their campers, trailers, or tack rooms, restaurants are a popular source of conversation. In the mornings many of the claiming horsemen, gallopers, walkers, and grooms congregate at the track-owned cafe. Because the cafe is located in a relatively isolated area away from the grandstand, the cafe offers a place for the horsemen to get away from the nonhorsemen who congregate during the morning workouts.

It is a place where the concerns of the horsemen can be openly discussed. Put another way, the cafe is the place where the communal aspects of the racing men are openly expressed and demonstrated. Breakfast is a social occasion for these horsemen. The cafe is a stabilizing factor in the racing world. Consequently, the cafe is more than a service provided by the race track; it is one of the few places at the track where backstage behavior can flourish unhindered (Goffman, 1959). In other words, the cafe functions to integrate the racing community.

The importance of the integrative function of the cafe is made more obvious by the conspicuous absence of the members of certain groups. Seldom are racing hobbyists found in the cafe. Yet the stakes horsemen, who depend on the racing business for a significant portion of their incomes, are frequently found in the cafe. Similarly, the claiming horsemen patronize the cafe on a regular basis.

The absence of the racing hobbyists is an indicator of the integrative importance of the cafe to the stakes and claiming horsemen at YA-WET-AG. The racing hobbyists are not members of the racing community; instead, they are speculative intruders in the racing community. Because the primary loyalties of the hobbyists are outside the racing industry, there is no need to integrate them into the racing community. The actions associated with social integration are reserved for those horsemen who depend on the track for their economic and social existences.

On the other hand, there are social forces present in the racing world which are potentially disruptive. W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki (1927) have found that social change can lead to the individualization of behavior and the breakdown of old communal ties and loyalties. Social change, therefore, is disintegrative to groups that make up the social order.

But by the process, an evolution, connected with mechanical inventions, facilitated communication, the diffusion of print, the growth of cities, business organization, the capitalistic system, specialized occupations, scientific research, doctrines of freedom, the evolutionary view of life, etc., family and community influences have

been weakened and the world in general has been profoundly changed in content, ideals, and organization.

... Detachment from family and community, wandering, travel, "vagabondage" have assumed the character of normality.

... Every new invention, every chance acquaintanceship, every new environment, has the possibility of redefining the situation and of introducing change, disorganization or different type organization into the life of the individual or even of the whole world. (Thomas, 1923: 70-71)

Why, then, if social and geographic change are generally disintegrative is the track cafe a location for the integration of the racing community? It would seem that a highly nomadic occupation such as horse racing would be highly disorganized. However, as Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) have stated, there is no state of total organization or disorganization. Instead, the two processes are simultaneously occurring in all groups. The racing community is, then, characterized by both a state of disorganization, due to factors inherent in the racing way of life, and a continually emerging social organization. In the same manner, other nomadic groups and situations are characterized by the simultaneous processes of social organization and disorganization.

In his study of the hobo, Nels Anderson (1923) found that the hobo, although appearing to be autonomous from the constraints of the larger social order, is constrained by the normative structure of "Hobohemia." There exist, then, rules that must be learned and taken into account by the individual in his relations with others.

An important social structure within "hobohemia" was the "jungle." The "jungle" could be found at the outskirts of most major cities and

it was one place where hoboes congregated to eat and sleep. In meeting these needs, the "jungle" also became a center for the integration of the individual into the hobo community.

Jungle crimes include (1) making fire by night in jungles subject to raids; (2) "hi-jacking" or robbing men at night when sleeping in the jungles; (3) "buzzing," or making the jungle a permanent hangout for jungle "buzzards" who subsist on the leavings of meals; (4) wasting food or destroying it after eating is a serious crime; (5) leaving pots and other utensils dirty after using; (6) cooking without first hustling fuel; (7) destroying jungle equipment. In addition to these fixed offenses are other crimes which are dealt with as they arise. (Anderson, 1923: 20-21)

The integrative function of the "jungle" becomes most explicitly defined when one of the rules is broken. In the following statement, Anderson describes the reaction of members of the community to a "hi-jacker:"

... a young fellow has declared his willingness to fight the hi-jack to a finish because he knew him and didn't like him anyway. The proposition is accepted. The hi-jack is more than ten pounds heavier than the challenger; but whether from fear or not, for he knows that the challenger has the crowd back of him to a man, the hi-jacker is slow to start. Perhaps he feels that the crowd will give him a beating whether he wins or not. He soon loosens up but he does not show the goods. The "bo" is more than a match for him but the hi-jack does not give up easily. He displays some courage but the "bo" fights like a madman and strikes the hi-jack blow after blow. The fight lasts more than ten minutes before the hi-jack is completely knocked out.

After he gets to his feet he is given a chance to wash his face and stick paper on the cuts; then he is "frisked," that is, ordered to donate all but one dollar to the jungle. Then he is sent out of camp with orders not to show up in any of the diggings along the line for it would be murder if anyone should spot him. (Anderson, 1923: 25)

The truck stop is to the truck driver what the "jungle" is to the hobo. The truck stop is a place where the trucker can have his vehicle serviced and where he can get a meal or a bed. It is more, however, than just a service center. It is a social center as well.

Many truck stops, for example, differentiate between the trucking patrons and the other patrons. It is not unusual to find two sets of fuel pumps in truck stops, one set for automobiles and the other for trucks. More important, however, is the differentiation that often takes place in the dining area. Many times truckers are given a special area of the dining hall that is explicitly their area; it is not unusual for the distinction to be designated by a sign that states which area is for truckers and which area is for others.

The existence of spatially segregated eating areas is more than a service to busy truck drivers. The trucker area provides a place for discussion among the drivers and a setting for the integration of the drivers into the occupational community. This is particularly important in the case of truck drivers because the opportunities for communal integration are limited by the nature of the work.

In these three American groups there are integrative forces present that serve to stabilize the communities and neutralize the disorganizational factors. As Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) have observed, even in times of social disorganization, there is present some form of social organization.

Conclusion

The horsemen are a reflection of the greater American culture which emphasized the desirability of physical mobility in the interest of social and economic advancement. Inherent in the migration process is, however, a source for social change and disorganization. Consequently, highly mobile groups are characterized by social practices and social structures that minimize the potential for change and disorganization, and give the groups a sense of stability and continuity.

Just because stability is present in transient ways of life does not mean that the stability is based on the same social rules or social institutions that predominate in the larger society. Instead, the nomad comes to depend on special social institutions and agencies that meet and reflect his needs and life style. The nomadic world is characterized, in other words, by nomadic institutions and agencies which are modifications of the prevailing social institutions and, sometimes, entirely new institutions that are characteristic only of the nomadic group.

CHAPTER IX: AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS OF NOMADIC LIFE

All of the social institutions that characterize horse racing and all of the agencies that service the horsemen share one feature--they have been adapted to the special circumstances that surround a transient life. In most cases, the social institutions and agencies are modifications of the dominant social institutions; in other cases, however, nomadic groups are characterized by unique social institutions and agencies.

Economy

The economic needs of horsemen are sufficiently different from those of most city dwellers that a number of track-related businesses can be found near the race track. Most of the businesses are as mobile as the horsemen they serve.

The most stationary of the track-related businesses is the feed business. Most horsemen at YA-WET-AG feed their horses primarily on a combination of hay and oats. Consequently, the horsemen are largely dependent on the farmers in the area. Obviously, a farmer is not free to move his farm about at will, so the horsemen ordinarily make new arrangements for hay and oats at every track where they participate in a racing meet. Farmers who depend on the track as a market for their farm products may still be somewhat mobile. Many of the farmers who serve the horsemen at YA-WET-AG also regularly serve horsemen at another track fifty miles away.

Other needs of the horsemen are met by a unique type of general store. The store is a motorized unit that can be moved from track to track. It consists of a modified semitrailer truck that is so constructed that the inside looks much like an average store. The interior of the unit is made up of a series of shelves and counters displaying the various products needed by the horsemen.

The relationship between the horsemen and the operator of the general store is one of reciprocity. Where else, in the city, can the horsemen find the wide range of products needed for conditioning and training racing horses? Aside from the expected horse-related products such as saddles, bridles and feed supplements, the general store offers more unique supplies which only horsemen are likely to need. For example, where, except at such a general store, can racing men find ear plugs for horses?

At the same time, the operator of the general store is directly dependent on the horsemen for his livelihood. This dependence is evidenced by the location of the general store. It is located directly across the street from YA-WET-AG in a parking lot.

Another indicator of the operator's dependence on the horsemen is his practice of not advertising in any of the racing forms or programs that are available to the general public. Instead, all advertising is concentrated in the "over-night" sheet which is read primarily by the horsemen. The "over-night" sheet is published by the track and it contains the entries and other relevant information about the next day's racing schedule. The sheets are available to anyone and are

distributed at several points around the track, but the information is such that few people other than the horsemen are interested in its contents. The "over-night" sheet, for example, contains no information concerning the betting odds for the entries and often it does not contain a list of the jockeys or the post positions of the horses. Consequently, the "over-night" sheet is of primary interest to horsemen who have a horse running in one of the races or to horsemen who are interested in some other way in the upcoming races.

The exclusive advertising of the general store in the "over-night" sheet is, then, an indicator of the dependency that exists between the store and the horsemen.

Several blacksmiths operate at the YA-WET-AG meet. Although they operate out of varying types of mobile shops, the most popular type is the pick-up truck, sometimes with a camper attached. This type of vehicle offers both the mobility needed to travel easily from racing meet to racing meet and the storage room needed for keeping large supplies of horseshoes and tools.

Most of the blacksmiths at YA-WET-AG derive their sole incomes from following the racing circuit. Many travel the circuit for the entire year; others have more limited businesses. Some blacksmiths work only during certain times of the year, or at a limited number of racing meets. Others work the YA-WET-AG meet exclusively. The businesses that are limited to only the YA-WET-AG meet are based within the city and use the income gained during the racing meet to supplement other sources of income.

One tradition of the racing community is the identification of each stable by the owner's silks. Silks are the shirts that are worn by the jockeys during the races. The silks are the property of the owner of the horse and serve as his trademark in the racing business. The combination of bright colors cut in different designs functions to distinguish the stables that are involved in the race.

A few of the silks are registered with the American Jockey Club and are used exclusively by one stable. Most horsemen, however, vary the design of their silks. Often an owner will keep one design until a horse has lost and then he will have new silks made with a different design.

The largest silks business at YA-WET-AG is located in a near-by motel. Although the company supplies nearly half of the silks used at YA-WET-AG, the staff consists of two women, the widow of a horseman and her daughter. Their clientele runs the full range of horsemen types at YA-WET-AG, from the largest stables to the owners of only one or two horses.

The two women follow the racing circuit only from spring through the fall. Their circuit consists of three racing meets: YA-WET-AG, a racing meet in the Southwest and another in the Rocky Mountain area. Each of the racing meets is sufficiently long that they do not need to travel during the winter season to make a living. Even with their restricted racing circuit, the two women will travel several hundred miles between meets.

The farmers who sell their products to the horsemen, the pro-

prietor of the general store, the blacksmiths and the women involved in the making of silks all provide stabilizing influences on the social and economic organization of the track. All of the track-related businesses are mobile to varying degrees. The mobility of the businesses encourages the development of a moving community, e.g., many times when the horsemen move from one racing meet to another, many of the businesses move with them. Consequently, the horsemen can continue to buy their silks from the same women, purchase the needed ointments and linaments from the same general store, or they can continue to use the services of the same blacksmith. The mobility of both the horsemen and the track-related businesses functions to stabilize the social and economic organization of both aspects of the requisite relationship.

At the same time, the relationship between the horsemen and the track-related businesses is subject to considerable change or social disorganization. The businesses travel a regular circuit of tracks just as the horsemen do, but if the horsemen travel different racing circuits from those followed by the track-related businesses, a certain degree of disorganization will prevail until a new social relationship established. For example, the horsemen who move to a different track than the general store which they have previously used must find a new source for obtaining supplies. Perhaps a general store exists at the new track. Even so, general stores vary in the type and quality of the products they sell, prices charged, and their physical organization. Similarly, each time the general store is moved to a new racing meet, the proprietor must be prepared to meet the needs

of an least partially new clientele. Although the basic needs of horsemen may not change, the preferences of the horsemen at various tracks may be quite different.

Another factor facilitating change within the racing business is the relatively high rate of employee turnover. Jockeys seldom contract with one horseman for an entire racing season. Instead, most of the jockeys agree to ride only for the course of one racing meet. At another racing meet, the jockey may or may not ride the stock of the same trainer. The same is true of other employees. One stable hand told me that he was going to quit his job at the end of the YA-WET-AG meet because his boss was going to race in the East and he wanted to remain in the Midwest. At the end of the meet he planned to move on to another track in the Midwest looking for a new job with a new trainer.

The economy of the race track is simultaneously in balance and unbalanced. The mobile nature of many of the track-related businesses can encourage a certain degree of stability, but at the same time the necessary transiency of the horse racing occupation tends to minimize constant relationships.

The economy of the race track can be contrasted with that of "Hobohemia" (Anderson, 1923) and the economy of the truck driving industry. In both cases, the individual is the single mobile element. Hobo "jungles" do not move; the hobo moves among them. Similarly, the urban counterpart of the "jungle," the "flophouse," is stationary. The same is true of the truck driver; he moves among stationary truck stops.

The unique mobility of the track-related businesses can function either to increase the stability of the racing community or decrease the stability as compared to the more stationary businesses related to hoboes and truckers. If the horsemen travel the same racing route as the general store, the silks business, and the blacksmiths, the old relationships between the business operators and the horsemen are maintained more or less intact. The relationships are seldom without variation, however. Most of the horsemen travel different circuits from all of the businesses. In such cases, relationships are inevitably broken and new ties must be established. The horsemen who do not travel the same racing circuit as the track-related businesses at YA-WET-AG must continuously deal with and adapt to the problems of economic, personal, and social change.

The distinction between the economic institutions of the horsemen and those of the hobo and trucker is of particular importance. When social institutions and institutional agencies are physically stable the emergence of a relatively constant social organization is facilitated. The hobo and the trucker enter relatively fixed social settings which facilitate the development of rules of the road that are somewhat independent of the individual participants. The physical stability of the "jungle," for example, encourages the development of normative standards that define the individual action. "Jungle" crimes have developed over a long period of time and are not directly tied to any single participant. Therefore, the hobo who enters a "jungle" must accept the rules as they exist. Any violation

of the rules will be met by the techniques of negative sanction that exist within the "jungle."

The horsemen, on the other hand, do not necessarily enter such a stable situation. This is particularly true at the beginning of the racing meet. When the horsemen first arrive for a racing meet, the only existing organization is a relatively loose ecology that has been established by the track officials. The social organization, particularly the informal social organization, emerges based on the physical, economic and social characteristics of the track and based on the nature and types of the contestants. Since the characteristics of each track are different and since the nature and types of contestant vary from track to track, the horsemen do not enter an established social organization; instead, the horsemen must develop some sort of organization anew.

Whereas the truck driver and hobo both enter and leave previously established social settings, the horsemen do neither. When the racing meet ends, the established social organization dies. The next racing meet will involve different personnel and social organization, different in some unspecified manner and degree than the previous meet. Also, the social organization at the same track will change from year to year. The officials at YA-WET-AG, for example, continuously attempt to up-grade the quality of the meet by offering larger and larger purses each year. The larger purses attract horsemen with higher quality horses. As the number of horsemen with quality horses increases, the number of horsemen with mediocre horses decreases; consequently,

the social organization will be different, perhaps radically different, from year to year.

The short-term nature of the social organization and absence of a previously established social organization increases the importance of the individual in the social setting. The hobo entering the "jungle" or the truck driver at the truck stop are both expected to accept and follow the previously established rules and procedures. The importance of the individual in defining the situation is less in such settings. The horsemen, however, do not enter a previously structured social organization. Instead, they carry pictures in their heads, either from previous experience at the same track, from hearsay or by generalizing from other tracks. The role of the individual and his fellow horsemen in the shaping of a patterned but temporary definition of the situation seems to be more important in the racing community than in the worlds of the hobo and the trucker.

The importance of the individual in the development of the social organization of the race track exists because the development of rapid interpersonal relations is facilitated. The absence of an established social organization in the presence of shared values centers around those characteristic of rural American and encourages and channels the development of interpersonal relationships among the horsemen. It is through the interpersonal relationships that the ultimate social organization emerges.

The importance of the individual in defining the social organization becomes more evident when the race track is compared with the

hobo "jungle." The hobo enters a previously established social organization for which the rules and sanctions have been developed independent of his presence. Consequently, Anderson (1923) found that there was little need for interpersonal communication among "jungle" residents. The hobo does not talk about his family, work or his past. The race track, on the other hand, is the direct opposite; racing men get to know each other quickly. Friendships and alliances develop within a matter of a few days. The generalized definition of the situation carried from elsewhere and the novelty of the new setting and its personnel then, encourage the rapid development of interpersonal relations which, in turn, become the basis for the emergent social organization.*

Family

Other social institutions are adapted to the transient characteristic of the race track as well. Perhaps the family in the nomadic world of the horsemen is under undue stress. The pressures and strains that develop from constant movement are often too great for

*I am not suggesting by this comparison that the worlds of the hobo and the truck driver are totally stable. However, comparatively speaking, the social settings of the hobo and the trucker are less influenced by individuals and groups gathering temporarily in them than is true of the racing world of the horsemen. Secondly, I am not claiming that the individual has no influence on the social organization of the "jungle" or the truck stop. Instead, I am claiming that the horsemen acting in concert have more influence on the development of their occupational setting than the hobo has in the development of the "jungle" or the trucker in the development of the truck stop.

the family unit to withstand. Consequently, many of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG are single or divorced.

To be sure, some horsemen maintain a marital relationship, but the relationship is different from the conventionally accepted and prevailing patterns that exist between husband and wife in American life. The presence of school age children is often a problem for the married horsemen. The horsemen cannot take their school age children with them as they travel from racing meet to racing meet. Usually, this problem is solved by maintaining a relatively permanent residence away from the race track. During the school months, the wives return to the permanent residences with the children and the married horsemen continue to follow the racing circuit.

The separation between husband and wife and father and children for months at a time can be a source of marital and family strain. Many of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG find it difficult to maintain a close relationship with their wives and families due to the lengthy periods of absence that must be endured. Therefore, many of the wives of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG see themselves as somewhat independent of their husbands. They must carry the burden of caring for and rearing the children without a husband's help for as much as nine months at a time. The independence of the wife from the husband and the absence of the husband for long periods of time are sources of much of the marital difficulty between the horsemen and their wives.

Although the separation of the family during the school months solves the problem of educating the children, it in turn creates a

second problem regarding the sexual outlet of the horsemen. Abstinence is one possible solution for the absence of a legitimately recognized sexual outlet, but it is seldom practiced by the horsemen at YA-WET-AG, or by other nomads of American society. Instead, it is expected and accepted that most of the married horsemen will occasionally become involved in extra-marital liaisons. The knowledge of the sexual infidelity of the horsemen and sometimes of their wives increases the marital strain in many of the racing families.

A significant portion of the horsemen's time is spent girl watching. Many of the horsemen can be found regularly standing by the paddock area watching the female patrons as they enter the grandstand. A considerable amount of conversation between horsemen during the races centers on the female patrons of the track and other sexual outlets.

At the same time, some of the regular female patrons at the YA-WET-AG racing meet regularly spend their time in the paddock area. These women spend a large proportion of their time drinking and flirting with the horsemen who gather there, although they usually claim that they are simply looking over the entries in the next race. The result is that many of the female patrons in search of the company of the horsemen and many of the single and married horsemen in search of female companionship have a common meeting place in the paddock area. At the same time, meeting in the paddock area does not necessarily define the situation as a sexual encounter, because most of the people in this section are there for other reasons.

Another source of sexual outlet for some of the married horsemen at YA-WET-AG is the "tracker." A "tracker" is a female employee who may have any type of job at the track and who follows the racing circuit and willingly submits to sexual relations with one or more horsemen. Trackers may be of any age; the trackers at YA-WET-AG range from their early twenties to women in their forties. The one shared characteristic of all of the trackers is their rural background. None of the trackers are from the surrounding city; the primary interest of most of the trackers, then, is not sexual, but their interest is in the racing business. Few of the girls view themselves as anything more than employees of the stables that they work for.

The trackers are categorically different from females who are picked up at the track or from the prostitutes that the horsemen sometimes encounter. First, the trackers see themselves as sexual objects or outlets for the horsemen secondarily and primarily as employees. The "pick-up" and the prostitute are relatively unimportant to the social organization of the track. Instead, they represent occasional alliances of the horsemen that are separate from the track. Trackers are very much a part of the social organization of the race track. The female gallopers, grooms and walkers who happen to be involved in sexual relations with the horsemen have an influence on the social organization. The fact that the trackers at YA-WET-AG have specific jobs with regard to the economic operation of the racing meet necessitates some sort of influence by them. Additionally, because the trackers travel the racing circuit and are an

anticipate part of each meet, they have a degree of influence that other female groups do not possess.

Many of the trackers at YA-WET-AG are not sexually involved with other employees. As a consequence, their sexual activities are separate from their work activities.

Most of the trackers are well-known among the horsemen and many horsemen rank the qualities of the girls. For example, one young assistant trainer told me not to get involved with one female galloper, because she was a "bad fuck." "She just lays there."

The sexual liaisons between trackers and horsemen are seldom long-lasting affairs. Instead, the trackers at YA-WET-AG tend to be involved with a number of horsemen during a single meet. Two horsemen, for example, told me about a tracker who had worked at YA-WET-AG during the previous racing season. One of the trainers mentioned that the girl was getting fat. "Probably all that cock she was gettin'." The second horsemen responded, "Yea, me and everybody else."*

The "pick-up" and the "tracker" are a social organizational compromise of the racing world. Due to the difficulties of maintaining marital relationships in a mobile situation, modifications of the prevailing social institutional practices are made by the

*I was not able to determine the extent of the tracker phenomenon at YA-WET-AG in terms of numbers, but it appears to be fairly limited. One indicator of the extent of the activity is the number of females employed by the stables. The number who depended on "pick-ups" for sexual activity was considerably larger than the number who relied upon female employees.

members of the racing community. These modifications or organizational compromises become the accepted pattern of organizational life.

The strains felt by married horsemen and their wives are not very different from other highly transient groups. Indeed, it appears that even the nuclear family is not as adaptive to continuous physical mobility as it may appear (Winch and Blumberg, 1971). This fact is further substantiated by comparing the family unit that prevails at the race track with the organization of the family in other nomadic groups in American society.

Railroaders, as they existed before World War II, were another nomadic group that was characterized by marital strain due to the transient nature of their work (Cottrell, 1940). Although the mobility of the railroader was usually limited to one geographical area, the movement by the railroader within that area was rather extensive. As an expected part of his job, the railroader had to be prepared to travel considerable distances at any time of the day or night.

Today he is working out this point, in place of an absent regular man; tomorrow he may be deadheaded to some other point to handle a work train. Next month he may be idle, only to be called on short notice to bring in a train that was too long delayed or to handle an extra glut of business or other work connected with some derailment, washout, or other emergency. He must be available to the "caller" at all times to go wherever business demands. When he finally makes the "extra board" at a particular division point he usually has had temporary sojourn to all the points on the division. (Cottrell, 1940: 43)

The physical mobility of the railroader is somewhat different from that of the horsemen, in that the railroader travels relatively short distances on a daily basis and horsemen travel greater distances but less frequently. However, the marital strains that result from both types of required transiency are similar.

The wife labors under a double difficulty. In the absence of the father of her children, she has the whole problem of discipline.... If she does not join, she is likely to be deprived of almost all recreation, since she is denied the equivalent of the forms of recreation her husband may have. And if she chooses to go to public dances or any other public place where "couples" are expected, she is immediately suspected by all the "good" people of the community. (Cottrell, 1940: 75)

Frequently, railroaders and horsemen find that the transiency requirements of their work make the maintenance of the socially and legally prescribed patterns of marriage difficult to practice. Consequently, the railroader and the horsemen make organizational compromises within the family unit to deal with the problems posed by the transient life style. These organizational or institutional compromises are often viewed as a threat to the prevailing order of the community.

Railroaders enter into the life of every community with which they come into contact. They bring with them different standards and a different set of values, morals, and beliefs. In only comparatively few towns are railroaders the sole dwellers. In general, the commercial groups, professional people, and farmers, miners, lumbermen, or fishermen, all with their greatest stock invested in the immediate local community, stand differentiated from the railroader, whose future lies in greener pastures elsewhere. In consequence, the morality of the former groups differs from and frequently clashes with the functional-group mores of the railroader. (Cottrell, 1940: 42)

The intercommunity conflicts between the city and the horsemen of YA-WET-AG are a source of considerable strife around the track. Many of the horsemen enjoy spending their evenings in local bars, drinking, playing pool and arguing. Often, horsemen who are out "raising hell" are treated as unwelcome intruders by the managers of the local drinking establishments. Consequently, many of the horsemen find themselves officially or unofficially banned from certain entertainment spots in the city.

The segregation of entertainment areas for the horsemen and the general public serves to create further hostility between the two groups. The "good" folks of the community find the horsemen to be loud, vulgar and undesirable social companions, whereas the horsemen see the "good" folks of the community as social snobs, who are willing to use the horsemen for the entertainment they provide at the race track, but are not willing to accept them as companions on the same social level. Many of the horsemen feel that they are being exploited by the surrounding community. The businesses are willing to accept the increased revenues that are derived while the racing meet is in progress, but they refuse to accept the horsemen on any other level than that of customers.

Marital strain is also a characteristic of the truck driving way of life. Although truckers are not required to be away from their families for as long a period of time as the horsemen, Flittie and Nelson (1969) found that forty-five percent of the truckers' wives were dissatisfied with their husbands' occupations.

When drivers who reported that their wives were dissatisfied with having a truck driver for a husband were asked what their wives would prefer they do, many said, "anything, as long as the work is at home." Truck driving was believed to be deleterious to family life by 68.8 per cent of the married drivers, but most commented that their families "are used to it." (Flittie and Nelson, 1969: 207)

The fact that many truck drivers claim that their families "are used to it" would indicate that some sort of modifications of family life are usually made to deal with the problem of an absent husband and father. Although the form of the organizational modification may vary between the families of the horsemen, railroaders, and truck drivers, a significant factor forcing the adaptation and changes in the family patterns is the high physical mobility that is required by the nature of the men's work.

American Migration Customs and Occupational Nomads

The amount of physical mobility by occupational nomads like horsemen, truck drivers, and railroaders is not a separate phenomenon from the physical mobility of other American migrants. Instead, the two groups are a reflection of the American belief in the appropriateness of physical mobility in the pursuit of social and economic advancement. The occupational nomads are a logical development from this American belief.

Characteristically, Americans have been and still are willing to move to improve their economic and social positions. The occupational nomads of America are different from other migratory groups in the rate of their mobility only. The occupational nomads have, in

a sense, institutionalized the desirability of movement for social improvement.

The institutionalization of mobility by nomadic groups simultaneously binds the nomad to and separates him from other patterns of American life. The horsemen, truckers, and railroaders are bound to the American culture by their shared belief in the desirability of upward social mobility. In this sense, they are very much like the businessmen who are willing to relocate in different regions to enhance their occupational positions. At the same time, the occupational nomads are different from other groups that are characterized by some mobility. Whereas the migratory businessmen can settle in communities between moves, the occupational nomads do not stay in one place long enough to develop the ties necessary for integration into the community life.

Few of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG are active in any of the organizations that exist outside the racing world. Few join lodges or fraternal organizations. Instead, most belong to the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protective Association which is restricted to horsemen. The same is true of railroaders and truckers; Cottrell (1940), for example, found little community involvement by the railroaders in his study.

There is little satisfaction in entering civic affairs in a community from which you may at any time be removed. Participation in school, recreational, church, and other local activities is seldom practical for these railroaders. What may be purchased through gifts of money can easily be secured in the railroad town. What involves careful, long-time planning, continuous

personal interest, enthusiastic participation, or painstaking administration will be noticeable by its absence. (Cottrell, 1940: 48)

Flittie and Nelson (1969) also found the trucker to be absent from community organizations and associations. Continued absence from the community tends to discourage active interest in community concerns and affairs.

Only 24.5 per cent of the drivers belonged to voluntary associations in their communities, excluding religious affiliations. Even those receiving the highest incomes tended to be inactive in community affairs. None belonged to a country club. Absent from their home communities much of the time, they saw little reason for being active in community organizations. (Flittie and Nelson, 1969: 208)

The distinction between religious affiliations and other community affiliations is significant to understanding the relationship of the occupational nomads and the community. Religious belief and affiliation are relatively standardized throughout the country. Consequently, the basic concerns and practices of churches of the same denomination will not vary so much that an outsider cannot join in the religious service without feeling uncomfortable or estranged. Furthermore, attendance at a religious service does not require nor imply any sort of continued involvement by the individual. Occupational nomads are able to attend religious services wherever they may be without feeling a direct commitment to the congregation or the officials of any single church.

Other community organizations are not so loosely organized. Most community organizations require a certain degree of commitment and

involvement in the activities of the organization. It is not surprising that occupational nomads tend not to join those local associations that require any sort of lengthy commitment of time or effort. Any lengthy commitment to the members or goals of an association is likely to interfere with the transient requirements of their work.

While the occupational nomad is separated from the life of the community, he is more than simply a geographical fact, as Park (1928) claims. The presence of nomadic occupational groups within a community does have a degree of social significance and consequence. The existence of racing meets at YA-WET-AG and the horsemen involved have a definite impact on the economy of the city. Restaurants and bars in the vicinity of the track experience an increased volume of business. Even the state is effected by the racing meet, because all of the money bet during the meet is taxable. The economic impact of the racing community is an important aspect of community life; consequently, it is more than a geographical fact.*

Occupational Nomads and the Study of Social Organization

The institutional modifications of the race track and other highly nomadic occupational groups indicate the need for a reconsideration of the prevailing sociological approach to social institutions. For the nomadic groups, the prevailing patterns of institutional arrangement

*This economic impact itself is but one feature of many in and of YA-WET-AG touched upon in this work that is deserving of full length study.

in American society are inadequate. The nuclear family, although presumably more adaptive to frequent movements than the extended family is an ideal type from which the nomads make necessary modifications. Other social institutions are modified to meet the needs of the racing community as well. Indeed, the very fact of nomadism may strengthen the particular focus of other institutions.

This is not to suggest that nomadic groups are necessarily antagonistic to the prevailing American institutional patterns. Instead, the modifications in institutional arrangements are made because the prevailing institutional arrangements cannot provide for the needs of highly nomadic peoples. The horsemen, then, are not denying the importance of the institutional functions; instead, they make modifications to ensure that the institutional functions will continue to exist.

The physical mobility of such groups also points up the necessity for different approaches to the study of social organization. Social organization is neither totally stable, as some structural-functionalists would lead us to believe (Parsons, 1951), nor is it without order or stability, as some conflict theorists imply (Dahrendorf, 1965). Instead, social organization includes both stable and changing elements which must be considered simultaneously (Cooley, 1909, MacIver, 1942).

It is not that the structural-functionalists do not recognize the existence of change in the social world, nor that the conflict theorists do not recognize the existence of stability; the problem is that each school in its pure form chooses to concentrate on only one aspect of

social organization. By considering only the stable or unstable aspects of social organization, the complementary impact of one force upon the other is often ignored. The result is two theories of social organization that are based on and verified by data that reflect only one element or view of social organization.

The distinction is not between two classes of facts, but between two aspects of theory. It corresponds with the double conception of order and progress: for order consists ... in a permanent harmony among the conditions of social existence, and progress consists in social development. (Comte, 1896: 218)

The approach suggested by the foregoing analysis to social organization involves a consideration of both its dynamic and static qualities. Such analysis necessarily would include a consideration of the impact of changing social conditions on the established organizational patterns and the impact of the established patterns on the nature and direction of change in the social organization.

Attempts at isolating one element from the other do not give a balanced or accurate explanation of the organization of social groups or even societies. Instead, isolation of the elements of stability and change leads to a skewed picture tending toward either organizational stagnation or organizational anarchy. Seldom is either the case.

The student of the processual approach here suggested does not assume that organizations are necessarily stable or changing. He looks for both aspects, noting the impact of each on the other. This type of analysis facilitates a fuller understanding of social settings. It facilitates the understanding and possible prediction

of future changes in social settings and the emergent patterns of stability that develop from and with the changes in the situation.

The importance of the processual approach to social organization is especially accentuated in the study of nomadic groups because of the constant shifts in physical location. This does not mean, however, that similar, equally important elements are not present as less conspicuous forces in other social settings or arrangements. Indeed, I would suggest that serious consideration of interpersonal relations and the social arrangements that spring from them must include the reciprocal influences of both statics and dynamics.

The organization of the YA-WET-AG racing meet is extremely complex, involving many persons, groups, activities and forces. The complexity of the organization can easily boggle the mind of the observer to such an extent that he may overlook the patterned activities and circumstances which define the organization. Equally important, the observer may overlook the factors which are related to larger sociological concerns. The following chapter serves to relate, in propositional form, the significant sociological findings of the study and relate them to other areas of sociological inquiry.

CHAPTER X: CONCLUSION

The sociological implications of the social organization of YA-WET-AG go far beyond the racing industry; many of the characteristics of the social organization are found in very different social settings. Therefore, in conclusion we shall discuss a series of general propositions which may be of use to sociologists studying other groups. In developing the propositions I will review the significant findings on which the propositions are based and point to areas of possible future research.

It bears remembering that propositions are not definitive statements that are beyond testing; rather, they exist as statements of relation for testing. One of the functions of both this account and the following propositions may be the testing and the consequent elaboration or rejection of the theoretical findings based on research.

Propositions

Proposition 1: The position of a social organization within a larger ecological system serves to limit and define the relations between members of the organization and the members of the larger social order.

One of the distinctive features of YA-WET-AG is that it is located within the boundaries of a city. At the same time, the physical boundaries of the race track serve to set the racing facility apart from the larger urban complex. The physical boundaries are also symbolic of the social relations between the racing community and the

urbanites who live and work in the area.

Social relations between the horsemen and neighboring groups may be characterized as strained. The horsemen feel that the businesses in the area are exploiting them, whereas the residents of the area feel exploited by the horsemen and the track officials. Thus, the location of the racing facility is important in the relations between the horsemen and their neighboring urbanites.

The implications of the location of a social organization in a particular area are vast and many. Firey (1945), for example, found that residents of urban areas often resist any significant changes because their neighborhood is more than a physical area; it has symbolic importance as well. As Firey states,

Thus for a span of one and a half centuries there have existed on Beacon Hill certain locational processes that largely escape economic analysis. It is the symbolic quality of the Hill, not its impeditive or cost-imposing character, that most tangibly correlates with the retentive, attractive, and resistive trends that we have observed. (Firey, 1945: 144)

An ecological and symbolic analysis is especially appropriate for the study of communities. For example, the urban slum could be studied as an ecological unit within the larger city; the study might include a consideration of the physical boundaries of the slum and the symbolic and social relations that are characteristically found near the boundaries.

In a similar manner, large, bureaucratic organizations could be approached from the ecological point of view. Many bureaucratic organizations are made up of a building or complex of buildings with a

surrounding parking lot. The physical boundaries of the organization can be seen in the location of the physical structures of the organization in relation to their surrounding area.

The sociologist, using this approach, might find it useful to observe the nature and type of social relations that characterize the physical boundaries of the organization. In some cases, universities for example, the area surrounding the organization might be dominated by the residences of organizational employees. The surrounding area would be an extension of the larger organization and the organizational impact would be reflected in the patterns of social relations among the residents.

In other cases, as with the race track, the surrounding area is populated by people who have little or no attachment to the organization. A study of the relations between the neighboring people and the members of the organization might be useful in an analysis of the social position of the organization within the larger community.

Proposition 2: The ecological structure within an organization serves to limit and define the relations among the members of the organization.

There are few areas within the YA-WET-AG racing facility where track patrons and horsemen are likely to encounter each other. Instead, there are several groups in distinct places at the track and only limited interaction takes place among them. The horsemen, the bettors in the grandstand, and the children in the children's area are all separate interactional systems due to the physical structures that tend to segregate them and limit their potential interactions.

This approach can be useful in the study of interpersonal relations in large, bureaucratic organizations as well. Mills (1956), for example, found that the advent of various automated secretarial devices in the modern office situation changed the ecological arrangement of many organizations. Consequently, the social relations within the organizations have changed. The primary impact of the automated devices is to eliminate the need for private, executive secretaries and increase the need for large stenographic pools. The result has been the elimination of interpersonal contact between the executive and the secretary and the consequent loss of prestige formerly associated with secretarial work.

Another example is to study the isolated groups within an organization and the social relations that emerge within the group. Roy (1959-1960), in his study of machine operators, found that distinctive interactional patterns existed among the workers. In part, the distinctive patterns resulted from the tedious nature of the work, but the physical and social isolation of the men was an important factor in the social patterns of the group as well. For example, extra work breaks, known as "banana time," were possible because the men were isolated from other workers and supervisors.

The ecological approach can be useful in the study of most modern social organizations. Whenever an organization is characterized by a division of labor and a physical division of the workers, the ecological approach may be useful in obtaining and analyzing information about individual groups within the organization,

as well as the organization as a whole.

Proposition 3: The nature of the activities of the actors within a social organization serves to define the relations among the members.

One important source of differentiation of the social organization of the race track from other social organizations is in terms of the recurrent activities in which the actors are engaged. Similarly, the activities that are associated with various actors serve to differentiate the various groups that make up the occupation and the relations among the groups. Of particular importance is the degree to which each group of actors possesses specific personal and social qualities that are not possessed by the members of the other groups.

A significant factor in the differentiation of the trainers from the other groups is the degree to which the trainers, as individuals and as a group, possess a greater quantity and quality of knowledge about horses and horse racing. Few of the members of the other groups have the racing expertise necessary to train a horse or to select the proper races for each horse. It is this quality that differentiates the trainers from other groups, particularly the owners, and helps to define the nature of the relations between the trainers and the other racing men.

The differences between the type of knowledge possessed by professionals and bureaucrats within bureaucratic organizations is often a central factor in the relations between the two groups. Goss (1961), for example, found that the organization of authority in many hospitals is divided between the administrative authority of the hospital staff

and the professional authority of the doctors in their relations to their patients. The ideal typical relations described by Weber (1946) were modified due to the monopolization of medical expertise among the doctors.

In other bureaucratic settings the significant knowledge is not that of the professional, but that of the administrator. In this case, the administrator assumes a more powerful position with respect to the professional. Daniels (1969) describes the military psychiatrist as a "captive professional," because he is bound by the rules and decisions established by administrators which limit his professional autonomy.

The significant factor in defining the relation among members of an organization need not always be the possession of formal knowledge, however. On a more microsocial level, Miller (1964) has described the significant factor in the relationship between the car salesman and the potential buyer in terms of differential social control. Thus, the salesman does not like to sell to customers who have not been solicited, because they control the situation and are consequently less likely to buy.

An important source for defining and observing the position of various people and groups with respect to each other is in terms of the type of activity in which each is engaged and the qualities that are associated with the various activities. The significance of this factor is, perhaps, made clearer with the addition of the next proposition.

Proposition 4: The nature and type of activity engaged in by actors is one source for the classification of the actors by the members of the organization.

Obviously, one source for the classification of the horsemen is in terms of the general categories of activity in which they engage. Thus, there is the distinction among the trainers, owners, stable boys, jockeys and so on. Another way in which horsemen are categorized is based on their relative position within the group in which they are primarily associated. Consequently, there are several types and categories of jockeys, trainers and owners.

The classification of owners is perhaps the most clear-cut of the groups. Scott (1968) has distinguished three types of owners: the "shopkeepers," the "speed boys," and the "sportsmen." Each of these types is differentiated from the others by the nature and type of activity in which he engages. The "shopkeeper" is involved in horse racing for the excitement of the competition. The "speed boy," on the other hand, is primarily interested in the betting advantage that owning a horse allows him. Lastly, the "sportsmen" are involved in horse racing because it is one way of reflecting their social and financial status within the community.

This type of classification - in terms of the activities that are emphasized by the various participants - is found in most of the groups that make up the social organization of YA-WET-AG. The trainers are classified in terms of the types of races in which they enter; the jockeys are classified in terms of their racing skills, and even the horses are classified in terms of their activities.

This type of classification system is found in other organizations, as well. Sykes and Messinger (1960) found that prisoners are classified in terms of their activities with respect to each other and the prison officials. Similarly, Humphreys (1971) claims that homosexuals are classified in terms of the types of homosexual and nonhomosexual activities that differentiate them.

It may be useful, then, to the sociologist to look at the relationship between the activities of various actors in terms of their relative positions within the group or organization. This may be useful in finding the informal classification system that is used by the members, as well as in understanding the various types of interpersonal relations that characterize the group.

Proposition 5: Social organizations are characterized by a standardized and idealized round of recurrent activity.

The race track as a social organization is characterized by a series of recurrent activities. The recurrent activities are standardized and structured in a sequential pattern such that the activities of most of the groups that participate at the track are involved. This is most apparent during the morning when the horses are trained.

At the same time, many of the trainers do not possess sufficient money to include all of the racing groups in their training procedures. In this case, the standardized procedure is an ideal that is approached in varying degree by many of the horsemen. This results in several variations on the standardized daily round of activity.

The activities of the members of most large, bureaucratic organ-

izations are typically standardized and structured in such a way as to create a daily round of activity. At the same time, variations on the daily round develop within the various groups and departments. The source of the variations on the daily round are highly variable; they may range from an unequal distribution of materials, such as money in the horsemen's case, to differences in the social psychological orientations of the groups.

It is not uncommon to find variations of the standardized daily round of activity in factory settings. In part, the variations result from a difference in orientation between the administration of the factory and the craftsmen. As Ritzer states,

Most craftsmen take a great deal of pride in their work and feel that since only they have the skills, only they should judge their work. Yet management frequently has different goals, and this is the source of the conflict. Management may need a job done quickly, but the craftsman may feel that it must be done right, and to do it right takes time. Management feels that only it has the "big picture," and that therefore it must supervise the activities of all its workers, including skilled craftsmen. Knowing it must meet a deadline, management may request its skilled craftsmen to work harder or take shortcuts. (Ritzer, 1972: 198)

In a different setting, Caudill (1958) found that nurses in a psychiatric hospital tended to modify the requests and policies of the hospital administration and residents to make them more consistent with their own orientations. The administration and residents tended to emphasize the rehabilitative dimension of treatment, whereas the nurses tended to view their tasks in terms of a custodial orientation. Consequently, the idealized daily round prescribed by the administration

and residents was changed to include the custodial dimension.

The variations that take place in the prescribed daily round of activity can be used to gain insight into the informal structure of organizations. In other cases, the variations may reflect the formal structure of the organization. Rosenfield (1971), for example, found that he had to vary his teaching procedure because the school administration gave preference to other classes which were not made up of students defined as "slow learners." Consequently, he began the school year without the formal teaching material, such as books, that is normally a part of the daily round of the school.

In either case, the variations on the daily round are as important to understanding organizations as the standardized and structured round of activity. Indeed, the degree to which group activity differs from the prescribed pattern can be a reflection of the larger social organization.

Proposition 6: The extent to which variations on the daily round differ from the prescribed pattern is related to the extent to which the members possess the required material and orientations associated with the prescribed pattern of activity.

Much of the material pertinent to this proposition is included in the previous discussion of proposition five. It should be noted, however, that the horsemen who possess the least amount of money are the most likely to differ most widely from the prevailing training pattern. These are the men who are most likely to exercise their horses half as often and for twice the distance, even though this training procedure is considered dubious by most horsemen.

This proposition can be easily tested in conjunction with the previous proposition. It may be useful to note the extent to which the dominant activity patterns of various groups differ from the prevailing pattern of the entire organization. In connection with this, it would be useful to note the extent to which the group possesses the same material resources and social psychological orientations of the other groups within the organization.

Craftsmen who work in large organizations can be studied in terms of the differential attachment of individuals and groups to the orientations of the organization and to their occupation. According to this proposition, it would be expected that the craftsmen most closely aligned to the occupational orientation would develop patterned activities that differ most widely from the prevailing pattern designed by the organization.

In the case of schools, it would be expected that those schools that possess fewest of the traditional teaching materials will be characterized by a daily round of activity that varies widely from the prevailing pattern in most schools. Similarly, those classes which have the least amount of educational material will differ most widely from the prevailing and idealized pattern of activity within the school.

Proposition 7: The manner in which members of a group or organization deal with recurrent human events and problems serves to differentiate them from or tie them to the prevailing culture.

The subcultural dimension of the horse racing industry is reflected in both the articulated actions of the members and the shared meanings associated with the actions. Among the distinguishing subcultural features of the racing community are a distinct jargon and the actions and meanings associated with marriage and death. These features, as well as others, serve to distinguish the racing business from other types of social organization. At the same time, the actions and orientations of the horsemen are not so different from the dominant cultural practices that the horsemen are defined as significantly different or deviant.

Many of the so-called deviant groups are primarily distinguished from the dominant cultural group in terms of only a single orientation that is defined as significant. Thus, homosexuals are primarily distinguished in terms of their sexual preferences and prostitutes in terms of their occupational choice. The personal and social implications of the differences are, however, important and far-reaching.

Becker (1963), for example, claims that the result of a single deviant orientation and action may be a redefinition of the social and self image of the individual. The result of a homosexual orientation for the recurrent problem of human sexuality may be a redefinition by the individual of his self image and the development of a new life style (Hooker, 1961, Achilles, 1967, Leznoff and Westley, 1956). Similarly, the self image and the life style of the prostitute may be changed due to her occupational choice (See Jackman, et.al., 1963, Bryan, 1965).

These groups defined as deviant are not the only groups which

exhibit subcultural features based on a different orientation to recurrent human events and problems. Vogt and Roberts (1956) note that different groups solve the same recurrent problems in different ways. They studied the reactions of five ethnic groups--Zuñi Indians, Navaho Indians, Mormons, Catholic Spanish-Americans and Protestant-Americans--to the annual drought that characterized a particular region of New Mexico. The Protestant-Americans, for example, responded to the drought by attempting to manipulate the environment through artificial rainmaking techniques, whereas the Zuñi Indians responded by increasing the frequency of their traditional ceremonies. In other words, each group responded to the same, recurrent problem in a different way and based on a different conception of the relation of man to nature.

The point is that the manner in which various groups deal with recurrent problems or events is one standard for classifying groups. In some cases, as with the deviant groups discussed, the manner in which the group deals with these problems is the primary basis for the subculture. In other cases, as with the ethnic groups described by Vogt and Roberts (1956), the subcultural features of the group are based on a larger cultural view shared by the members; consequently, the reaction of the members to a recurrent problem is a reflection of the larger perspective.

A sociological testing of this proposition might involve a comparative analysis of the dominant values and practices of individual groups with respect to the cultural values and practices of the dominant culture. The groups could then be classified in

terms of the consistency or inconsistency of group values and practices relative to the larger culture. In addition, the groups could be classified according to the degree to which they are differentiated from or tied to the larger culture due to their values and practices.

Proposition 8: The degree to which the orientations of the group members to recurrent human problems and events differ from the prevailing cultural orientations is a reflection of the position of the group relative to other groups in the culture.

The horsemen as a group and as a subculture are not so different from other, more dominant, American groups. Seldom are they defined as significantly different or deviant. For the most part, the horsemen accept the prevailing value system of American culture. This is reflected in their approach to material accumulation.

At the same time, the horsemen are different from more conventional groups. The differences stem primarily from the limitations and requirements of the industry and the geographical and social backgrounds of the horsemen. The horsemen differ, for example, in that they have little occupational and income security. They also differ from other groups to the extent that they are defined as sportsmen and not living in a "real" world. Another factor is the position of the horsemen with respect to their customers; the horsemen are primarily rural men who make their livings from urban people in urban environments. These differences are considered to be relatively minor by most Americans when compared to other groups.

Although the primary basis for the classification of many groups as deviant is based on a single differing practice, the moral

weighting attached to the deviant act is significant. Thus, the sexual preferences of homosexuals are considered more serious and more immoral than the adultery of some of the horsemen. Both activities could be conceived as threats to American family life, but the adultery of the horsemen is more consistent with the American value of heterosexuality. Similarly, the occupational choices of both the horsemen and prostitutes are somewhat different from the dominant American approach to earning a living. The manner in which the prostitute earns her living is considered to be more immoral and, consequently, more deviant than the way in which the horsemen earn their livings.

This applies equally to ethnic groups. The horsemen and their subculture are more different from the prevailing American culture than is the subculture of Protestant-American farmers studied by Vogt and Roberts (1956); therefore, the position of the horsemen is inferior relative to the position of the Protestant-American group. At the same time, the horsemen hold a superior position relative to the Zuñi, because the orientations of the horsemen are more consistent with the larger culture than are the orientations of the Zuñi.

The positions of various groups and subcultures vary to the extent that they possess values and cultural orientations that are consistent or inconsistent with the dominant culture. The importance of this proposition stems from the fact that the relations among various groups and subcultures are to a large extent based on their relative positions to each other. Stinchcombe (1965), for example, has noted that the relative position of an individual in industrial society is

more a factor of the relative position of the organizations of which he is a member than to ascribed qualities which he may possess.

The same idea can be applied to the relations among and the positions held by various groups and subcultures. Based on this proposition, there are two potential areas of sociological research. First, the sociologist may study the nature and types of social relations among individuals who belong to various groups in terms of the relative positions of the groups. A second area of potential research might center on shifts in the positions of groups and their relations to other groups as the dominant cultural values and practices change.

Proposition 9: Social organizations which are characterized by subcultural elements are also characterized by distinctive and dominant social psychological types.

The dominant social psychological type at YA-WET-AG is the man who is characterized by the Buffalo Bill Syndrome. He is a rural man who is making his living in the city. He is an entertainer who lives in a mythical world that is expressly created for the enjoyment of others. Furthermore, he is a pragmatist who stresses practicality over theoretical concerns. In sum, the typical racing man is in many ways a contemporary derivation of the cowboy.

At the same time, the Buffalo Bill Syndrome is a reflection of the horse racing subculture. The qualities that typify the individual are also a part of the value system and culture of the racing community. To the extent that the horsemen reflect the values

of the community in their attitudes and actions, the dominant social psychological type is an individual version of the racing subculture.

This phenomenon can be observed in other subcultures as well. Park's (1928) classic discussion of the urban man as a marginal man is one example. The marginal man of the city is a reflection of the city; he is sophisticated, cosmopolitan and capable of assuming a variety of social roles. These qualities are also a part of the culture of cities. There is, then, a direct relation between the dominant social psychological type that typifies a group or culture and the values which make up the group or culture.

Riesman (1950), although his classifications of social psychological types are gross, offers three which characterize the development of American culture: the tradition-directed man, the inner-directed man and the other-directed man. Kroeber's (1961) account of the life of Ishi is another attempt to get at culture through the construction of a typical biography and social psychological type. At the larger cultural level, perhaps, the construction of a dominant social psychological profile is most useful for comparative purposes. The qualities of the social psychological type are a source for gaining insight into the larger culture and making comparative statements about different cultures.

This approach can be useful in the study of smaller subcultural groups as well. Hughes (1961) attempts to get at the structure and dynamics of the American drug culture through the biography of a female drug addict. The similarity in attitude and social exper-

ience between Janet and other members of the drug culture would indicate that there is a prevailing social psychological type within the drug world which reflects the value system of it. Consequently, as the drug culture changes, it should be reflected in a new dominant social psychological type. Indeed, this has been the case in American society; the changes in the drug culture are reflected in the social psychological type commonly known as the "hippie" (Cavan, 1970).

This proposition may be tested in two ways. It may be tested in terms of how well the typical social psychological type reflects the values of the larger cultural group. According to this proposition, one should reflect the other. A second approach might be to note the relationship between changes in the culture or subculture and changes in the dominant social psychological type.

Proposition 10: The social psychological type of a particular subculture will vary from the dominant social psychological type of the larger culture to the extent that the subculture varies from the culture.

This proposition is inherently tied to the previous one, the assumption being that the social psychological type of any culture or subculture is a reflection of that culture or subculture. This is the case with horsemen. As individuals the horsemen are defined by others and defined by themselves in terms of the values and practices of the racing subculture. Consequently, the horsemen are different from the dominant urbanites around them, but, at the same time, they are not sufficiently different to be defined as threatening or deviant.

Indeed, many of the qualities in the Buffalo Bill Syndrome and the racing subculture are more closely tied to the traditional values of America and Americans than are the qualities of urbanites.

The horsemen are different from other Americans in that they are less other-directed in their approach to social relations. This is not to suggest that they are not without other-directedness; indeed, if Riesman (1950) is to be believed, they are more other-directed than the earlier cowboys which they represent and, to this extent, they are similar to the contemporary American social psychological type.

The values of the racing subculture and the qualities of the horsemen are, however, perceived as more consistent with prevailing culture than are the values of the contemporary drug culture. In this sense, the horsemen are closer to the dominant American social psychological type than are the contemporary hippies.

In terms of sociological research, this proposition might be tested by comparing the relative positions accorded various subcultural social psychological types with respect to the larger culture. According to the proposition, it would be expected that the social psychological types characterizing subcultures that are inconsistent with or are in conflict with the prevailing culture will be defined as deviant more often. A second approach might be to note the changes in the prevailing cultural values and possible shifts in status accorded to various social psychological types.

Proposition 11: The nature and extent of difference between various subcultures and its dominant social psychological types are reflected in the nature and

types of backstage behavior engaged in by members of the subculture.

The nature of the backstage behavior that is characteristic of the racing subculture is reflected in what persons and groups are selected as the appropriate subjects of backstage behavior. The backstage behavior of the horsemen reflects the values of the community and the qualities of the horsemen, that is, a rural background and orientation and a pragmatic view of the world. The deriding of men who work at desks or with ideas is an example of the emphasis placed on the importance of a man working with his hands. This type of activity is a reflection of the rural orientations of the horsemen and the pragmatic, nontheoretical emphasis of them.

Although the frequency of backstage behavior varies from individual to individual and group to group, the backstage behavior of the horsemen is of a relatively mild variety. The horsemen differ from the urbanites in terms of occupational orientation and the definition of the appropriate male role, but the differences between the horsemen and the urbanites are not great. Indeed, they must and do successfully live and work together on a daily basis. This indicates that the racing subculture is somewhat different from urban culture, but the differences are not greatly significant.

Horton (1971), in his study of young, black males, found that although they shared a desire for the physical comforts of the middle-class life, they did not share the middle-class approach to interpersonal relations. Their definition of middle-class life as impersonal,

coerced and hypocritical was reflected in their backstage behavior. In many ways, the backstage behavior of these men reflects their position in American society; although they desired to move up the social ladder, their chances were limited by racial and educational disadvantages. Consequently, the backstage behavior of these men was less tempered than that of the horsemen who are closer to the prevailing culture.

If this proposition is accurate, it would be expected that those subcultures that deviate the most from the larger culture will be characterized by backstage behavior patterns that reflect their position in the larger society. Again, this proposition might be tested by comparative analysis of the nature of the backstage behavior in groups that hold varying positions within the society.

Proposition 12: One criterion for the classification of members of an organization is in terms of the differential possession of the symbols and materials available to the members.*

An important basis for the classification of the horsemen is in terms of money. It is a tangible and symbolic material which is used as an objective measure of the success of individual horsemen. Unlike other social types, the monetary value of most horsemen is a matter of public record; the number and value of the purses won by most owners and trainers is made public through the mass media and through the informal grapevine of the racing community. The affluent

*It should be noted that this is only one source for the differentiation of individuals within an organization or group. There are other sources that are important as well.

horsemen, then, are known and accorded a higher social status within the community than are the less affluent horsemen.

A second objective standard used by the horsemen in classifying their peers is in terms of the types of races in which they characteristically enter. Stakes horsemen tend to enter the more prestigious races which involve the largest purses. The claiming horsemen, on the other hand, usually enter the claiming races which offer less return for a winning effort. In fact, this standard is also used to classify the horses that compete. Some horses are considered sprinters and others route horses. Similarly, some horses are stakes horses and others are categorized as claiming horses.

One of the significant implications of bureaucratization, according to Weber (1946), has been the increased emphasis placed on objective criteria in the classification of workers. In bureaucratic organizations, the prospective employee must meet objective standards, such as educational certification, in order to be eligible as an employee. This phenomenon appears in less formal settings as well.

Davis and Munez (1968) claim that there is a prestige system within the drug culture which is based on the type of drugs that various individuals usually use. The individuals who limit their drug experience to LSD, "heads," are accorded the highest status, whereas "freaks," the users of methedrine, are given lower status. The distinction based on a criterion such as the type of drug used is an easy way to classify groups as well as being an indicator of the individual's orientation to drug use.

The number of potential objective standards available to different groups is vast and variable. They are often sources for the classification of members, however, because they are perceived as indicators of social status and position. Thus, one way to test this proposition might be in terms of what materials are used by various groups in classifying members and what these criteria are perceived to indicate. Another approach might be to note the changes in objective criteria that are used as the group encounters different objective material. Such criteria are not, however, the only basis for classifying members; there is a further subjective classification system as well.

Proposition 13: One source for the classification of members of an organization is in terms of the differential commitment of members to the organization.

An important source for the classification of horsemen is in terms of the perceived commitment of individuals and groups to the values and norms of the racing community. Stakes and claiming horsemen are set off from the racing hobbyists, because the loyalties of the racing hobbyists lie with nonracing groups. In a similar manner, betting patrons are set off from the racing horsemen, including the racing hobbyists, because the bettors' commitments are not directly related to the horse racing business, but to the betting aspect of horse racing.

This is an important source for the classification of members in many groups. Homans (1950) notes that the workers who are not committed to the goals and values of the work group are singled out and defined as troublemakers. Those workers who did not fulfill their share of the work were defined as "chislers," whereas those who did more work

than was considered appropriate were called "rate-busters."

This is a significant source for the classification for other, less formal, groups as well. Yablonsky (1959) claims that most urban, street gangs do not possess all of the characteristics of a group; instead, they are near-groups. An important source for classifying the members, however, is in terms of the differential commitment of individual members. The gang is made up of a central nucleus of highly committed people who form the leadership of the gang. Other members are less committed to the group and its norms and they are classified in terms of their degree of commitment.

This proposition might well be tested in conjunction with proposition twelve because the sources for membership classification are often interrelated. It would not be unexpected that the members who are the most committed to the group norms would also possess the objective material of the group. This is not, however, always the case. The claiming horsemen are generally more committed to the values and norms of the racing community than are the racing hobbyists, yet the racing hobbyists are more likely to have the most money and to enter their horses in the stakes races. In this case, the two sources for the classification of members should be kept separate.

One way of testing this proposition might be in terms of the socialization process that takes place within the group. As a new member becomes more and more socialized, his position within the group is likely to change based on his increased commitment.

Proposition 14: Social organizations can be differentiated on the basis of the amount of chance that is inherent in them.

Horse racing is characterized by a high degree of chance. Indeed, chance is built into the competitive nature of the business. Few horsemen are assured of victory in any single race due to the erratic nature of horses and attempts by track officials to equalize the competition in some races.

The high degree of chance is significant for two reasons. First, the uncertainty of the outcome of the race is a significant feature which defines horse racing as a sport. As a sport, horse racing takes on new organizational dimensions, such as a mythical character, that differentiate it from other organizations. Secondly, the high degree of chance is an important source for the recruitment of new members. Many horsemen were first attracted to horse racing because it is competitive and uncertain. The chance dimension of horse racing is important, then, because it allows for an atmosphere of excitement and suspense that is attractive to some people.

Another occupational group characterized by a high degree of chance is the taxi driver. Davis (1959) notes that the taxi driver is usually in a dependent position with respect to his clients. This stems from the fact that he must pick up many types of clients, some of whom, such as belligerent drunks, may be physically threatening to him. Also, the taxi driver is dependent on the passenger with respect to the size of the tip given. Beyond these factors is the frequent definition of the taxi driver by the passengers as a "non-

person." In this role, the taxi driver is often given intimate and personal information by the passengers which they would not give others who are not considered "non-persons."

Similarly, policemen work in a world of chance. The high degree of potential physical danger is perhaps the most obvious chance element of police life. There is, however, another chance element in police work that stems from the position of the policeman with respect to the law. The police are charged with the application of the law in all cases, but many times the statutes surrounding a specific act are ambiguous, in which case, the policeman must use his discretion in deciding on proper action. This is particularly true in "victimless crimes" (Schur, 1965). In other situations, the policeman is called to settle family disputes that do not involve the violation of the law (Bittner, 1967). In these instances, the policeman has few formal guidelines upon which to base his action.

Social organizations and groups may be classified in terms of the degree of chance that is inherent in the nature and types of activities that characterize them. It should be stressed, however, that the classification of groups in terms of chance must consider both the formal and informal processes within the organization or group. In the case of police intervention in family disputes, there may be few or no formal rules for handling the situation, however; there may be informal rules that apply. The informal rules often serve to reduce the degree of chance.

Proposition 15: Social organizations that are characterized by a high degree of chance are also characterized by control techniques that are designed to reduce the uncertainty.

The social organization of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG is characterized by several techniques that are used to control the situation. Most, however, fit into one of two categories: rational control and supernatural control. Rational control techniques are practices and devices used by the horsemen to intervene directly in the race. A "machine," an electrically charged whip, is an example of one device used by the horsemen. The supernatural control techniques are the social practices of the horsemen that are believed to influence the outcome of the race in an indirect manner. Thus, the taboo on eating peanuts in the alley between the stables is not a direct intervention into the racing situation, but it is believed to influence the race.

Taxi drivers are also characterized by control techniques. There are, however, few direct or rational techniques available to the drivers; most attempts at direct control of the situation take the form of techniques of impression management, such as extreme courtesy (Davis, 1959). The primary techniques used by taxi drivers are indirect attempts at controlling the situation. Perhaps the most pervasive of such attempts is the typing of customers.

In order to reduce his uncertainty he

develops a typology of passengers on the basis of the size and likelihood of a tip: The Sport is generally a local celebrity who will treat the driver well and is likely to give a large tip. The Blowhard is a phony sport who talks big, but does not tip as well as the sport. The Businessman is the stable of the taxi

business since he is the most frequent user of a cab. Although he is not a big tipper, he is generally a fair one. The Lady Shopper also frequently uses the taxi, but she is a notoriously low tipper. The Live One is generally an out-of-towner who is, at least potentially, the source of the largest tip. (Ritzer, 1972: 252)

It should be pointed out that the typology of customers does not directly control the situation, but rather it gives the individual taxi driver a sense of certainty about his relations with his customers. Typologies are also used by other groups in controlling uncertain situations, but the typologies are sometimes used as a basis for more direct intervention by the individual. Wilson (1968), for example, found that policemen tend to type the various people that they encounter. This typing, however, has ramifications for the direct intervention of the policemen. Thus, policemen are more likely to type members of minority groups, young people - particularly young men with long hair -, and poorly dressed people as potential trouble-makers. This typology is often the basis on which the policemen decide whether to arrest an offender or simply to warn him.

This proposition could be easily tested in conjunction with the previous one. Various organizations and groups might be studied in terms of the degree of chance inherent in the organization or group and types of control techniques that are used in such situations. A second procedure might involve a study of changes in the degree of chance within an organization over time. In noting the change in the degree of chance, the researcher might also look at the changes that take place in the control techniques used.

Proposition 16: The control techniques used by members in organizations characterized by a high degree of chance will vary with the extent to which various members are in a position to intervene directly in their own behalf.

The social organization of the racing community may be characterized by the dominance of two groups, the claiming horsemen and the stakes horsemen. In many ways, the distinctions between these two groups are a reflection of the relative position of each group to the techniques of social control. The stakes horsemen are more likely to use rational techniques for controlling social situations. In other words, they are more likely to intervene directly in the social situation in their own behalf. Claiming horsemen, on the other hand, are more likely to depend on indirect and supernatural techniques for controlling the situation.

The techniques used by each group are a reflection of the relative positions of each group within the racing community. The stakes horsemen are accorded higher status both within and outside the racing community. Due to their higher status, the stakes horsemen are in a better position to intervene in their own behalf; this is particularly the case in relations with track officials. Many of the claiming horsemen feel that the large number of route races, races of a mile or more, run at YA-WET-AG is an indicator of the power of the stakes horsemen, because the stakes horsemen are most likely to own horses that are capable of running that distance.

The claiming horsemen are accorded less prestige and, consequently, their power to intervene in their own behalf is limited.

The claiming horsemen, for example, are assigned to various barns based on the decisions of track officials. Stakes horsemen, on the other hand, are more likely to request a specific barn and get it.

The distinction between groups based on their relative power to intervene in their own behalf is characteristic of other groups, too. The relationship between nurses and doctors, for example, is in large part defined by the greater ability of the doctor to intervene in his own behalf, whereas nurses are more likely to have to work through the hospital administration.

Rushing (1962) found that nurses often find themselves in a situation of normative conflict based on the norms surrounding the legitimate power of the doctor and the norms surrounding the nurses' concern for the welfare of the patients. When these normative systems were in conflict, the nurses were seldom able directly to intervene on behalf of the patients. Instead, most attempted indirectly to give the doctor information that he either did not know or was not taking into account. Some nurses, for example, would attempt to give the doctor the pertinent information by asking questions that pointed up the inconsistency between his decision and the facts of the case. It should be pointed out, however, that the nurses seldom directly contradicted the doctor in an effort to change his mind.

One way of testing this proposition might be to compare the relative positions of the various groups that make up a particular social organization and the types of control techniques used by

each. Another way might be to note changes in the control techniques used by individuals as they move up or down within the organization.

Proposition 17: The degree to which an organization is characterized by chance will be reflected in the beliefs and practices of the members.

The high degree of chance which characterizes the racing community is reflected in a strong belief in the potential for upward mobility. The horsemen are well aware of the accomplishments of other upwardly mobile horsemen and they tend to generalize such information to their own lives. The feeling that it only takes one outstanding horse to attain fame and affluence is pervasive within the racing community. The strong feelings surrounding the potential for upward mobility are augmented by the fact that it is difficult to detect a good horse from a bad horse by simply observing their physical characteristics.

The racing community at YA-WET-AG is characterized, then, by a fatalistic belief in luck as a source for upward mobility. The values associated with the stories of Horatio Alger and the Protestant ethic, although accepted by most of the horsemen, are not believed to be important factors in upward mobility. Consequently, many of the horsemen are involved in activities that may appear to be irrational and directed toward immediate gratification. In many ways, however, these activities are not irrational, because the economic and social practices of the horsemen are perceived as unrelated to upward mobility.

Madsen (1964) found a strong sense of fatalism among Mexican-

Americans in Texas. The degree of the fatalistic orientation varied, however, by social class. The lower class was the most likely to be fatalistic, whereas the middle and upper classes were less likely to possess a fatalistic view. In part, the differences among the social classes are a reflection of the conditions surrounding their lives; the lower class Mexican-Americans were usually manual workers who had little control over their work situation and over much of their private lives. The members of the middle and upper classes were more likely to be in a position to influence the events of their lives. To an extent, it would appear that the degree of the fatalistic orientation varied with the degree of uncertainty in their lives.

Similarly, most of the studies of blue collar workers have found that they are more likely to be alienated from the organization than are the white collar workers. In part, the alienation of the blue collar workers stems from the routinized and mechanized nature of their work, but many of the blue collar workers are also influenced by their lack of control of the work setting. Indeed, one of the functions of unionization is to give the worker a sense of greater control over his work situation (Ritzer, 1972).

One approach to this problem is to compare the belief systems of various groups with respect to their positions within the organization or the larger society. Another approach might include the study of the changes in belief that accompany upward and downward mobility by individuals and groups. A blue collar worker who is transferred to a higher position within the organization would

experience a change in his beliefs regarding the organization, assuming that this proposition is correct.

Proposition 18: Organizations can be classified in terms of the physical mobility required of the members.

The racing community is a highly mobile group due to the requirements of the occupation. The typical racing year involves many moves over great distances to participate in relatively short racing meets. Other occupations are similarly characterized by a high rate of physical mobility. Entertainers, hoboes and truck drivers are examples of the nomadic occupational groups.

Other occupations are characterized by physical mobility, but to a lesser degree. Railroad workers, for example, are a highly mobile group, but their mobility is limited to trips of short distance and duration. Similarly, taxi drivers are highly mobile within the confines of the city.

Other groups are less frequently mobile. Often the career pattern of the business executive is marked by a series of moves. These moves are directly related to the upward mobility of the individual. This type of mobility represents a different group from the highly nomadic groups and the limited nomadic groups.

A final group are those individuals in occupations that require little or no physical movement. Farmers, for example, are often characterized by this pattern. Due to the nature of their work, many farmers are tied to one piece of land for their lifetime; in some cases, the lack of mobility crosses several generations. These types of groups and occupations might be called stationary groups.

It is possible, then to construct a continuum of the physical mobility of various groups. The polar extremes would consist of the highly nomadic groups and the stationary groups. The importance of this type of construction is that it would allow for a comparative analysis of group characteristics in terms of physical mobility. In this way, physical mobility can be used as a sociological variable.

Proposition 19: Organizations that are highly nomadic are characterized by a high potential for social disorganization and instability.

A significant characteristic of the social organization of the horsemen at YA-WET-AG is the high potential for social disorganization and instability which results from the transient nature of the occupation. Among the factors encouraging the mobility of the horsemen is the differential quality of horses demanded by various tracks. Also, the cooperative efforts by tracks to advertise for each other encourage mobility. At the same time, the factors that encourage transiency by the horsemen may be disruptive of the social organization of the track.

When large numbers of horsemen leave one track to go to another, the social organization of the track is dramatically altered. This is often the case toward the end of a racing meet; the claiming horsemen are likely to leave the track because the quality of the horses and the size of the purses generally increase as the meet progresses. A second factor encouraging instability and disorganization is that there are several racing circuits. Those horsemen who do not follow

the same racing circuit may not meet again until the next year; consequently, personal and social relations are disrupted. This factor tends to inhibit the development of a stable social organization.

This is equally true in the world of the hobo (Anderson, 1923). The hobo is a free man in as much as he is relatively unrestrained from going any where he chooses at any time he chooses. Although there are "jungles" for eating and sleeping in most areas of the country, the men who are found in the various "jungles" vary from place to place. Consequently, the men are not likely to establish strong social ties. Indeed, one of the rules of the "jungle" is that no one should become too "nosey" about the lives of others.

Truck drivers live in a world that is somewhat less disruptive and unstable, because each driver usually drives the same route. At the same time, the potential for establishing close social ties is limited. It is difficult, for example, because most social interaction takes place during the short period the truckers spend in truck stops; the rest of the working day is spent alone or with one other driver.

One way to study this aspect of social organization is in terms of the norms of transient groups. It would be expected, according to this proposition, that highly transient groups would be characterized by very general normative standards. The rules of the hobo "jungle," for example, are highly generalized and standardized from one "jungle" to another. There are few rules that are specific to any one "jungle." A second approach might be a comparative analysis

of the organization and normative system of nomadic groups and stationary groups.

Proposition 20: Social organizations that are highly transient are characterized by structures and processes that function to reduce the instability of the situation and integrate the members.

One of the significant sources for the integration of racing men is the track cafe. Due to its location, few people who are not horsemen are found there; consequently, the processes of integration that characterize horse racing flourish there. A second source for the integration of the racing community is the presence of nomadic agencies and institutions that are designed to meet the needs of the horsemen.

The transient nature of many of the agencies that serve to make up the economy of horse racing is one example. Because the agencies are more or less built on wheels, it is possible for the horsemen to maintain a stable relationship with the people who own and operate these businesses.

Although the rules of the hobo "jungle" are generalized and not specific, the "jungle" serves as an integrative structure within "Hobohemia" (Anderson, 1923). It is in the "jungle" that the rules of the road are created and news is exchanged. Because the men experience similar problems and share common needs, the gathering of the men in the "jungle" is an important source for the integration of the hobo community.

Similarly, the truck stop is important to the truckers. Although the time spent in the truck stop may be short, the news that

is transmitted is important in defining the nature of the occupation. A related factor may be the existence of a common union affiliation, the Teamsters.

The important point is that the structures which function to integrate the members of transient groups are highly specific. The track cafe, Hobohemia and the truck stop are easily observed both as physical structures and as social centers. In more stable groups the integrative functions of the group take place in a wider range of places. In other words, the agencies and institutions of stable groups tend to be more interrelated, whereas the agencies and institutions of nomadic groups are less interrelated and more specific.

One approach to testing this proposition, then, is in terms of the interrelatedness of the various agencies and institutions that characterize different groups. One indicator might be the degree to which members of various groups depend on specific agencies for social integration. According to this proposition, it would be expected that highly nomadic groups would be characterized by a high degree of member dependence on specific agencies and structures.

Proposition 21: Organizations that are highly mobile are characterized by social institutions that are unique to the group and, to varying degrees, different from the social institutions of the dominant society.

A significant factor which differentiates the racing community from other groups in American society is the degree to which the dominant social institutions are modified due to the problems of transiency. The economy of the racing industry is, perhaps, most indicative of this

factor. The economic agencies that the horsemen are most involved with and dependent on are highly mobile; the general store, for example, is a motorized vehicle and many of the blacksmiths work out of pick up trucks.

Similarly, the familial relations of the horsemen are reflective of the transient nature of their work. Typical values and practices associated with the relations between husband and wife are modified due to the long absences that are necessitated by the nature of horse racing. This is particularly evident in the sexual norms that are accepted by many of the horsemen; thus, extramarital sexual relations are considered acceptable under certain conditions.

The modifications that are developed to cope with the special problems of transient groups are, however, consistent with the dominant normative and institutional structures of American society. The modifications result from the fact that the typical functions of such institutions can be achieved through the dominant structures. This feature of nomadic social organization is reflected in the rules which surround extramarital sexual relations among the horsemen. Generally, promiscuity is frowned upon by the members of the community; instead, acceptable sexual activity is limited to certain situations and times. Extramarital activity, for example, is not acceptable during the summer months when the wife and children of a horseman are living with him.

Indeed, the hobo "jungle" discussed by Anderson (1923) serves many of the functions of other institutional agencies in American

society. It is organized to meet the basic physical needs of the hoboos - a place to eat, a place to sleep and a minimum of shelter - as well as providing for some of the social desires of the men, such as companionship and the exchange of news.

The point is that sociologists interested in the study of social organization and social institutions might find it useful to consider the structures and norms typically associated with the dominant society as ideal types. In this way, the sociologist could compare and contrast individual social organizations with the dominant type. This approach might serve two functions; first, it would make it possible to order and classify various social organizations in terms of their congruence with the ideal type. Secondly, it could facilitate the isolation of significant variables that account for the difference between the actual organization and the ideal type.

Proposition 22: The importance and impact of interpersonal relations on social organization are increased in highly mobile organizations.

A common approach to the study of social organization is to look at interpersonal relations as a reflection of the organization. In other words, the organization is taken as a social fact (Durkheim, 1938); that is, the organization is seen as external and constraining upon the members. Although this approach is sometimes useful in the study of stable social organizations, its utility is limited in the study of social organizations characterized by a high degree of physical mobility.

The world of the horsemen is not a stable world that exists beyond

individual control; instead, each racing facility is different and the men who compete at various meets are different. The result is a social organization that is continually emergent based on the nature and types of interpersonal relations that develop among the participants.

The emergent social organization is not haphazard or the product of chance; however, it is related to the manner in which the participants define and relate to each other. To a large extent, the similarities among various racing facilities are due to the relatively standardized needs and desires of all horsemen. Similarly, the horsemen share a common definition of what the appropriate social organization of a racing facility and racing meet ought to be like. These requirements are not highly restrictive; instead, these needs and desires can be and are met in a variety of ways. Consequently, the structure of a particular racing meet is highly related to how the participants relate to each other in meeting their needs and desires.

Social organizations, then, can be studied in terms of the relationships between organizational structure and the structure of interpersonal relations. This proposition suggests that organizations that exist for only a short time are more determined by the interpersonal relations of the participants, than are organizations that are maintained for long periods of time.

Conclusion

The propositions just presented and discussed are somewhat general and highly tentative. My purpose in developing propositions

that are not specific to horse racing stems from a basic assumption of the grounded-inductive approach to theory building. It is assumed that theory, as well as science, is a cumulative effort that does not end with a particular study. Instead, the general findings of such studies must be compared and contrasted with the findings of other research efforts. Therefore, I have attempted to put the propositions in such a form that they can be used in the study and analysis of other social organizations.

The tentative nature of the propositions is also related to the cumulative nature of theory building. Ideally each of the propositions will be tested either through comparative analysis of previously collected data or through further research efforts; in this case some of the propositions may be rejected and others may be modified or further specified. In any event, it is hoped that the propositions will facilitate a greater sociological understanding of social organization.

Beyond the specific research implications of the propositions, this study points to the utility of sociological study in many different types of settings and organizations. One function of studying highly mobile groups, as well as other "unconventional" groups, is that such studies bring to light the dynamic and adaptive nature of social life. Such studies and findings serve to remind the sociologist of the richness and diversity of life in society which is often ignored in the study of more conventional groups.

A second function of the sociological study of groups like the

horsemen is that such studies can point to the recurrent themes and orientations that run throughout a culture. In other words, "unconventional" groups can point to shared orientations, as well as diversity. A related point is that the problems and issues that concern sociologists are often similar from one group to another; that is, the social processes and forces found at the race track are very likely to be found in other settings. Thus, by looking at both "conventional" and "unconventional" groups and organizations, the expansion of sociological knowledge may be fostered.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE UTILITY OF GROUNDED-INDUCTIVE THEORY

My initial approach to the study of the race track was through the use of the grounded-inductive methodology that is outlined in Glaser and Strauss (1967). In fact, my general state of mind with respect to this approach was akin to the enthusiasm and zeal of a religious convert. After having used the approach, however, my initial faith and enthusiasm have been tempered by the realities of sociological research and theory building. At the same time, I am not prepared to reject the inductive approach, because I feel it offers a number of advantages to the theoretically oriented sociologist.

The Deductive Implications of Inductive Theory

Although I realized at the beginning of the research that any collection of data is of limited use until it is interpreted, I did not realize the full implications of the deductive part of the interpretation of data. It is utterly impossible for the sociological theorist to dismiss from his mind all of the general sociological principles that are a part of his training. It is this inability of the individual that makes all sociological research take on a deductive dimension.

Anyone with some awareness of the major theoretical schools of sociology can recognize from the description and account of the race track that I have been most influenced by the symbolic interactionists and the functionalists. The data reported here, however, have im-

plications for other theoretical schools as well. For example, much of the data could be interpreted in terms of social conflict and the social exchange approaches. It is the multiplicity of possible interpretations that bothers me most about the inductive approach.

One solution to the problem is to analyze the data in terms of several theoretical orientations and compare the accounts in terms of the utility of the various explanations. In a sense, this what I have done. I have tried to demonstrate that the racing community consists of several dimensions: the physical, the social, the social psychological and the cultural.

This approach can be used, however, to disguise the true deductive assumptions of the theorist. I am not suggesting that the disguise is intended by the theorist, but the deductive assumptions that the theorist makes tend to encourage his selection of one explanation over other possible explanations. In order to discover this type of occurrence, it is important that there be a number of studies of the same phenomenon, and in this way the various possible explanations can be evaluated by the larger sociological community.

The grounded-inductive approach to theory building exposes other problems as well. One of the problems that I discovered through this approach was the utility of the scientific method in building theory.

The Scientific Implications of Inductive Theory

I entered the present study with the notion that science was a broad and general approach to the collection of information about the

world. Essentially, I felt science consisted of a series of observations of the world and the generalization of those observations to other social settings. The critical element in the scientific process was objectivity in the collection of observed data.

Although I tried to keep my research effort within the boundaries of scientific detachment, I soon realized that its utility varied with the nature and purpose of the research project. In most cases, the scientific method is the best approach to sociological research, but in other cases it may hamper or even destroy the research project.

Matza (1969), for example, claims that the scientific method is of only limited utility in his approach to deviance. He claims that deviance can be understood best from a philosophical perspective known as "naturalism."

So conceived, naturalism stands against all forms of philosophical generalization. Its loyalty is to the world with whatever measure of variety or universality happens to inhere in it. ... Consequently, it does not and cannot commit itself to any single preferred method for engaging and scrutinizing phenomena. It stands for observation or engagement of course for that is implicit in fidelity to the natural world. But naturalistic observation may also include experience and introspection, the methods traditionally associated with subjectivism. (Matza, 1969: 5)

If my research purpose had been to subjectively understand and become a part of the racing community, I would have very likely found the general scientific method to be of limited utility. This is the significant criterion for selecting a research method. The scientific method does not possess divine qualities or powers; instead, it is used because it is a useful approach and it should be rejected when

it is not useful. As Redfield states:

Understanding, and her apotheosis, wisdom, are the true gods within the temple; science is not; she is only a handmaiden, and serves with many others. (Redfield, 1967: 168)

Given the disadvantages of the grounded-inductive approach, it is still a useful way of building theory. One of the more important advantages of this approach is that it focuses theory in the direction of concrete social phenomena.

Induction and Focusing Theory

The significant similarity among the works of such diverse social thinkers as Durkheim (1951), Weber (1930), Becker (1963), and Goffman (1963) is not in terms of the research techniques used or the theoretical interpretations of their data; instead, the similarity is a product of their individual focuses upon specific social phenomena and processes. The various theories developed out of the attempts of these men to explain and understand specific situations or occurrences.

Theory building that is focused in this manner is more likely to yield propositions and generalizations that are more easily testable and verifiable.

Induction and Verification

As discussed earlier, an extreme emphasis on the building of theory through the logical-deductive process results in a division of labor between the theorists and the researchers. The researchers' attempts to verify such theory is limited by the language of the

theorists and the process by which the theory is derived. The grounded-inductive approach is one solution to this dilemma.

Theory developed through the inductive process is tied to the collected observations of the theorists; consequently, the propositions and generalizations that make up the theories are more consistent with the needs of the verifier. Lenski's (1961) testing of Weber's (1930) theory is one example of the consistency between inductively derived theory and verificational research.

Conclusion

The ultimate test of theory and the processes of theory building is the usefulness of the final product. By usefulness I mean the same thing as Dahrendorf when he states:

What matters, rather, is whether and how a theory illuminates its proper area of reality, and whether empirical processes refute the hypothesis derived from the theory. (Dahrendorf, 1959: 152)

Ideally, at least, when a theory is no longer useful, it is discarded and new theory is adopted. In many ways, both grounded-inductive theory and logical-deductive theory are of little use to sociologists. Each, however, is useful in different ways and under different conditions. Sociologists, then, should not become exclusively tied to either, but should be prepared to use both types in expanding and developing the discipline.

APPENDIX B: THE USE OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE PURSUIT OF SOCIOLOGY

Two of the most pressing questions for an inexperienced participant observer to deal with regard the type of knowledge or data to be gathered and how best to obtain the knowledge or data. I found the answers to both questions in Cooley's (1926) distinction between material and social knowledge.

Material knowledge consists of those sense impressions that are processed as raw inputs of data. The observation of the physical structure of the racing facility or the observation of the activities of the various horsemen are types of material knowledge, because they are observations and evaluations of only spatial, temporal and physical factors.

Social knowledge, on the other hand, involves the evaluation of sensory impressions in terms of social meaning and sentiment. The observation of the physical structure of the track or the daily round of activity becomes social knowledge when it is interpreted in terms of the meanings attached to the various structures and activities and in terms of the types of sentiments that are felt in relation to the structures or activities.

You will say, perhaps, that all knowledge, whether of things or of men, comes to us by the aid of the sense, and that the division I assert is therefore imaginary. It is true that all knowledge calls for sense activity of some sort or degree, but the function of this activity in material or spatial knowledge, on the other, is quite different. In dealing with things sensation

is the main source of the raw material which the mind works up in knowledge; in dealing with men it serves chiefly as a means of communication, as an inlet for symbols which awaken a complex inner life not primarily sensuous at all. (Cooley, 1926: 60)

The distinction is useful, because it is one way of classifying the data gathered by the observer. It is also significant because the two types of knowledge are interrelated and the observer can use one type of knowledge to get another type. I found it particularly useful to use material knowledge to get at the social knowledge of the racing community.

The Use of Material Knowledge

Although I was raised on a farm and around horses, I did not feel my knowledge of horses was extensive nor very complete, a feeling which was confirmed to a greater and greater extent as the study progressed. However, the little knowledge that I did possess was an important source for gaining access to the horsemen. I knew, for example, most of the classifications for the horses and I was aware of some of the more common injuries and diseases of horses. This knowledge provided me the necessary information to communicate with the horsemen and to justify my interest in horses.

Of particular importance was the fact that my knowledge was incomplete. It helped facilitate the role I was to play in relation to the horsemen; the horsemen assumed the role of teacher and I of student. Many of the horsemen took me under their wings and instructed me in the finer points of the horse racing business. In

doing so, they also gave me a good deal of information about the social structure and organization of the track.

On one occasion I was watching a horse being shod and I made a comment about the horse being "shoed." One of the horsemen took me aside and explained that the proper term was shod, but this led to a conversation about the techniques of shoeing horses and the relationship between the blacksmith and the trainer. Thus, I was able to collect information about the social relations that characterize the track, as well as information about the material aspects of racing.

A second type of material knowledge that I brought with me to the study was an awareness of the sport of track, as such. Many of the strategies and techniques used in horse racing are also found in the world of track and field; in fact, many of the younger horsemen were actively involved in track as a high school athletic activity. I was able to make comparisons between the two sports which led to conversations about other aspects of the racing industry. Initially, I tended to judge the performances of the horses in terms of speed - this being the primary criterion for evaluation in track. I found, however, that the horsemen used other considerations in evaluating the performances. These criteria were important in giving me information about the evaluation of horses, but they also were the source of information about relationships between the horsemen and their horses, as well as about the various relations among the horsemen.

The possession of material knowledge is useful to the observer, because it can be used to gain access to information of sociological

concern. At the same time, the possession of too much knowledge of a material nature may work to the disadvantage of the observer. It is the possession of some knowledge that is important in developing the student-teacher relationship. The observer who possesses an extensive and complete knowledge of the material aspects of the social situation does not make a good student and may be denied access to the more important social information.

The Use of Social Knowledge

Having been raised on a farm and, consequently, aware of many of the important social orientations of rural people, it was much easier for me to develop an early rapport with the horsemen because we shared common experiences and orientations. In some ways, it could be claimed that I concentrated on the horsemen, rather than the urban bettors, because of that shared background.

I stated earlier that I defined myself as a college student who had changed his major from veterinary medicine to business and that this was a useful definition. The selection of this definition was made early in the study, before I had collected any really significant data on the horsemen. The part that I played in the definition was based almost entirely on the social knowledge that I gained as a child while living in a rural area. I would caution the investigator not to depend exclusively on past experience and knowledge, because the generalization of social knowledge from one group to another can sometimes work to the disadvantage of the observer. Instead, it is a good idea to use social knowledge of the most general type.

At any rate, the possession of some social knowledge is useful, because it can be used to gain access to the people being studied. It was often possible for me to shift conversations from the concerns of the rural man, which I had knowledge of, to the concerns of the racing man, which was more central to my concerns as a participant observer.

The second way in which I used social knowledge was in terms of introducing myself to the social situation. I had observed that in other social settings the person who first introduces the newcomer to the group is generally responsible for the newcomer. Among the responsibilities of the introducing member are the protection of the newcomer from threatening members and the instruction of the newcomer in the ways of the group.

I found it useful to begin the study by getting to know one horseman very well. For the most part, I spent all of my time with one horseman at the beginning of the study. He introduced me to others, taught me the rudiments of horse racing, and unconsciously justified my presence at the track. Later, I found it useful to use the same approach to get information from other groups at the track.

Again, the observer should be cautioned not to depend on this approach exclusively. First, the initial member should be selected with care. If he should be defined as a deviant within the group or if he is a member of an exclusive clique within the larger group, the observer has defeated his research purpose at the beginning. A second problem with this approach is with the definition of self that

the initial member gives the observer. In some cases the definition may conflict with the aims of the research. Briggs (1970), for example, found that the Eskimo family with which she lived tended to define her in ways which were inconsistent with her research aims and her own self definition. The result was a long period of conflict that hindered her collection of data.

Conclusion

It has been my experience that the use of Cooley's (1926) classification of knowledge is a useful approach to doing participant observation. It is not, however, a panacea for the problems of the participant observer; each social setting is different and requires the use of different approaches. In many cases, the significant problems stem from sources outside the group being studied, such as bureaucratic redtape or intervention (Wax, 1971). In these cases, the observer must develop his own ways of dealing with the problems.

At the same time, it is my impression that many observers approach a research setting with no memory of many of the basic rules of sociology. Consequently, many of the problems of observers stem from not applying and using the principles which they have learned as a part of their training.

APPENDIX C: THE ETHICS OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

One of the more pressing issues in the area of participant observation is the question of the ethics of such research. This is particularly the case when the observer disguises himself and the aims of his research. It is Erikson's (1965) contention that such an approach represents an invasion of the privacy of the group being studied. Certainly, a disguised observer can sometimes invade the privacy of his subjects, but the significance of the problem goes far beyond the realm of participant observation.

I suggest, for example, that historical studies of sociological value can also invade the privacy of individuals. Erikson (1966) himself has used information taken from private communications of early New Englanders. The fact that the individuals discussed by Erikson are no longer living does not negate the fact that he used private communications which were not intended for publication.

A more common practice among contemporary sociologists is to use students as subjects of quantitative research. In this case, the students may be required to answer questions dealing with such private matters as sex or the use of drugs. It can be claimed that the students have the right to refuse to answer the questions, but such a claim does not recognize the structural and interpersonal pressures that are built into the situation. Often those students who fill out the questionnaire are given extra credit in their

course work, and occasionally, it is a required part of the course.

This example can be extended to include studies outside the domain of the university as well. For example, the sociologist who wants to study union workers often tries to get the support of the local union and the employing business or businesses to support the research. The effect of such support is oftentimes an economic and political pressure. In this case, the individual is limited in the extent to which he can protect his privacy.

Another factor of importance is that the group being studied may pressure the observer into acts which he considers immoral or unethical (Polsky, 1969). This was the case with Whyte (1955). He was expected to take part in all of the activities of the group, including voting twice in an election. Whyte claimed that he considered such practices immoral, yet he went along with the group. I would suggest the reason for his conformity to group expectations was the result of pressures by the group.

The significant question surrounding disguised observation is not whether the technique is inherently moral or immoral. All data collecting techniques can be viewed as immoral or "cynical" (McNall, 1971) because the purpose of data collection is to obtain information that to a varying extent can be used against the informants' interests. The real problem for the disguised observer is how to protect the interests of the informants.

Dealing With the Ethical Problems

The crucial period of decision making about ethical problems takes place well before the observer goes into the research setting. The significant defining factor in the morality or immorality of a study is the purpose of the research project itself. If the nature of the research project has political ramifications, the observer must be concerned with ethical matters in his research.

In my view, at least, this was not a significant part of my research. My major concern was with the organization of the racing community and the life styles of the participants, and not with the political implications of the organization or life styles. Admittedly, I received information of a political nature, but because it was not central to my research concern, I did not include it in my account of the racing community. If my major focus had been on other factors, such as illegal gambling activities or prostitution, then I would have selected a different approach to the collection of data.

A second problem for the observer is in terms of the specific activities of the group that have ethical implications. The voting incident in Whyte's (1943) study is one example. I found it useful to judge each group activity that directly involved me in terms of the ethical implications of that activity. It would have been easy for me to have become involved in a number of activities which might have been construed as immoral; the important point is that I was able to resist the activities without jeopardizing my position within the group.

Although I often accompanied the horsemen to the local bars to pick up sexual partners, I was never a direct participant in the activity. All I had to do was explain to the horsemen that I was engaged--and later married--and I did not feel that I should become involved in such activities. This was an acceptable justification in all instances. At other times, I could have become involved in the gambling activities of some of the horsemen; I had, however, defined myself as a nongambler and only interested in horse racing as a sport. Consequently, the horsemen allowed me to observe some of their gambling activities, but never pressured me to take part.

In other cases, the participant observer may be in a position to protect, rather than hinder, the interests of the group. On one occasion I became involved with a man who had suffered a mild heart attack. In this case, I helped the man by notifying the track authorities and was able to get medical aid for him. In one sense, my actions were antithetical to my research aims. The so-called pure scientist might have treated the situation as a chance to collect data on how the group reacted to a crisis situation.

On a wider level, the participant observer is often better able to protect the group. Because his research concerns are wider than those of the more specific quantitative sociologist, the observer is in a better position to assess situations in terms of the interests of the group. Consequently, he is better able to intervene in behalf of the group.

Conclusion

It is my feeling that all sociological research techniques have ethical implications for the sociologist. The important concern, however, is with how to deal with the ethical problems and minimize their impact, while attempting to obtain accurate data about the social world. At the present time, we have no objective and widely accepted rules or principles for dealing with the problem; instead, each researcher must find his own solutions. Obviously, this is not necessarily the most desirable way of handling the problem.

It is my feeling that the only feasible, long-term solution is through legislation that protects the professional sociologist and his clients.* Although sociologists are accorded professional status with medical doctors and attorneys, the rights and obligations of confidentiality that are enjoyed by the other professional groups are not legally recognized with respect to the sociologist. I would suggest that if the sociologist is to become a true professional, and, if the discipline of sociology is going to develop through the input of research data, it is paramount that the discipline of sociology and the people who make up the discipline be given legal recognition of their status.

*Polisky (1969) comes to a similar conclusion based on his research experiences with adult criminals.

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